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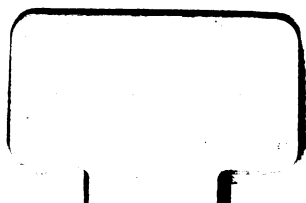
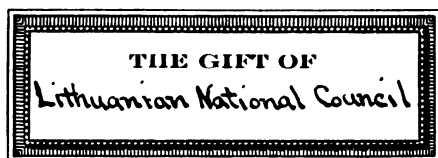
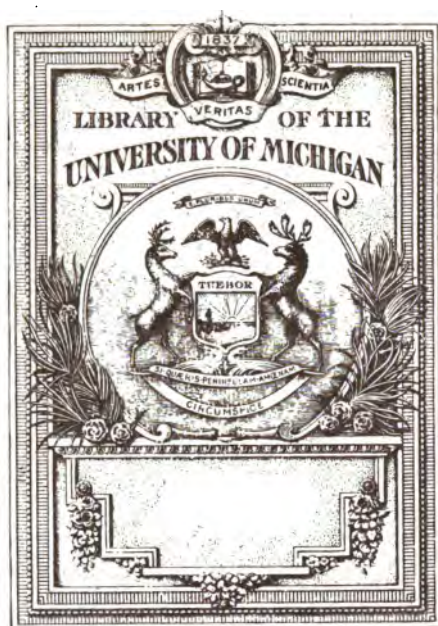
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# LITHUANIA'S CASE FOR INDEPENDENCE

BY

T. NORUS AND J. ZILIUS

ISSUED BY  
LITHUANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL  
IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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# INDEX

The Lithuanian Nation.....	7
Origin .....	7
Philology .....	7
Historical .....	9
The Old Prussian and the Teutonic Knights.....	9
The Letts and the Livonian Knights.....	10
Lithuanians and the Cross Militant.....	12
The Tatar Invasion.....	13
The Polish Union.....	14
Polonization of Lithuania and Poland.....	16
Partition of Lithuania and Poland.....	16
Lithuania's Russification .....	17
Regeneration .....	19
Lithuania's Emigration .....	20
The Causes of Emigration.....	20
The Emigrant in Russia, Poland, and (Lettonia) Latvia.....	20
The Emigration to Great Britain, Africa and elsewhere.....	20
The Lithuanians in the United States.....	21
The Settlements and the Occupations of the Emigrants.....	21
The Influence of American Freedom on the Lithuanians.....	22
The Cultural Status of Lithuanians in America.....	22
The Number of Lithuanians in America.....	23
Ethnographic Lithuania .....	25
No Pretensions to Historic Lithuania.....	25
Lithuania—The Ethnographic Concept.....	27
The Researches of D'Erkert and Koreva.....	34
The Census of 1897.....	37
The Area and Population of Prussian Lithuania.....	41
The Area and Population of Lithuania.....	42
Lithuania and Other Countries Compared.....	44
The Confederation of Lithuania and Latvia.....	45
The Economic Status of Lithuania.....	47
Lithuania Is An Agricultural Country.....	47
Lithuanian Farmers Live Separately.....	48
The People with Little or No Land.....	48
Farm Products .....	48
Fruits and Vegetables .....	48
Stock Raising .....	49
German Exploitation .....	49
Lithuanian Forests .....	49
Lakes and Fishing.....	50
Peat .....	50
The Dearth of Minerals.....	50
Mineral Springs .....	51
Industry .....	51
Household Industry .....	51
Amber Industry .....	51
Future Prospects .....	52
Conclusion .....	52

Future Industrial Developments.....	53
The Cultural Evolution and Re-awakening of Lithuania.....	55
The Ancient Culture of the Lithuanians.....	55
The White Russian Influence.....	55
The Use of Latin.....	56
The Polish Influence.....	56
The Rise of Lithuanian Literature.....	56
The Earliest Lithuanian Writers.....	57
The Poet Donelaitis.....	57
The Literary Men of the Nineteenth Century.....	57
The Polish Lithuanian Period.....	58
The Prohibition of the Lithuanian Press.....	59
A New Movement in Lithuanian Literature.....	59
The Period of Unusual Activity.....	60
The Strength of the General Cultural Movement.....	61
Organization for the Dissemination of Culture.....	62
The Lithuanian Scientific Society.....	63
The Society of Fine Arts.....	63
Agricultural and Other Societies.....	63
The Organization of War Refugees in Russia.....	64
Political Parties of Lithuania.....	66
The Political Evolution of the Lithuanians.....	68
Tendencies Toward the Dissolution of the Union with Poland.....	68
The Masses Are Decidedly for Self-Government.....	69
The Evolution of the Idea of Independence in Lithuania.....	70
The Struggle for the Independence of Lithuania up to the Time of the Russian Revolution.....	71
Conferences Abroad.....	72
The Berne Conference.....	73
The Lausanne Conference.....	74
The Lithuanian Movement in Russia (1916-1917).....	74
Lithuanian Autonomy and Russian Constitutional Democrats.....	75
First Russian Demand in Russia for Independent Lithuania.....	76
The Struggle for Lithuanian Independence Since the Russian Revolution, 1917.....	76
The Petrograd Convention of May 27, 1917.....	77
Widespread Demands in the Lithuanian Settlements Through- out Russia for the Independence of Lithuania.....	79
Demands of the Soldiers' Union.....	80
Recognition of the Sovereign Rights of Lithuania by the Con- gress of the 22 Russian Nationalities.....	81
Later Resolutions Adopted by the Lithuanians of Russia.....	82
Political Resolutions of the Lithuanians in America.....	84
Conclusion.....	86
Relations of Lithuania to Other Nationalities.....	87
Relations to Russia.....	87
Relations with Poland.....	87
Relations with Germany.....	92
Relations with Letts.....	93
Economical and Cultural Evolution of Small Nations of Europe.....	98
Conclusion.....	95

## PREFACE

In the course of the great international drama which culminated in Allied victory in November, many characters have been brought upon the world stage with whose talents, traits, and antecedents most of the world is unfamiliar and with whose ideals and aspirations, stifled as they have been by centuries of despotism, the world is practically ignorant. Isolated as she had been by distance, by policy, and by intense application to domestic affairs, America in particular had grown out of touch with, if not utterly confused by, the mazes of European politics and the clash of national interests in the Eastern Hemisphere; but as the urge of autonomy forced out the pillars which supported imperialism, whilst the battering guns of democracy were leveling thrones in the dust, the interest of humanity in those small nations on which autocracy has for so long battered was aroused, and with the clearing away of the smoke and wreckage of empire it becomes appropriate to present to the public "Lithuania's Case for Independence."

At the outset let it be noted that as late as the Middle Ages Lithuania was one of the largest States in Europe, her expansion being due not so much to aggressive policies as to the fortuities of civilization's defense. But ceaseless defensive warfare with neighbors growing ever more powerful eventuated in her subjugation, and for centuries she has been, in turn and by joint action, the victim of the crushing oppression of Russia and Germany. The chief instrument in perpetuating her subjection has been the proscription of her language and her press. "To take the language from a nation," said one of Lithuania's venerated authors, Nicholas Dauksza, "is like expunging the sun from the heavens, destroying world order, imprisoning the life and soul of that nation."

Another cause for Lithuania's decadence may be blamed to the old aristocracy itself, which, after the marital union

with Poland, supinely permitted itself to be influenced and controlled by the Polish nobility, while the proletariat was being reduced to serfdom and bondage. Not until 1861 did the Lithuanian renaissance take place, by which time her identity had become merged with that of Poland to a degree which confused in the mind of the world what were in fact two distinct racial and national entities, a confusion which Poland has fatuously believed to be to her self-seeking interests still further to confound, as she does today, politically, territorially, and linguistically.

Hence it is that Lithuania, on whose domain many of the bloodiest campaigns of this great war have been waged, has received relatively little attention from the world at large, her sufferings have received scant sympathy, and she has bandaged her own wounds.

It is with the purpose of acquainting the public, particularly the American public, somewhat with Lithuania and her people, her history, her struggles against annihilation, her ideals and her aspirations, that this synopsis of events and conditions is sent forth, and if the truths herein contained may at times be crudely stated, it is hoped that the reader will be lenient, bearing in mind the wide difference between a language, cousin to the ancient Sanskrit, and the English tongue.

This much is believed to have been made clear: On the broad issue of self-determination Lithuania stands foursquare to every principle enunciated by the world's great statesmen while the war was at its height. Not one side obliques to negative a perfect case. If the laws laid down by these international judges is as impartially administered as it is fundamentally sound, then Lithuania rests confident that her case as presented to the jury of the world will receive that verdict which will justify the peace conferees in striking off her shackles and restoring to her freedom of government and equality among nations.

GEORGE CURTIS PECK.



# THE LITHUANIAN NATION

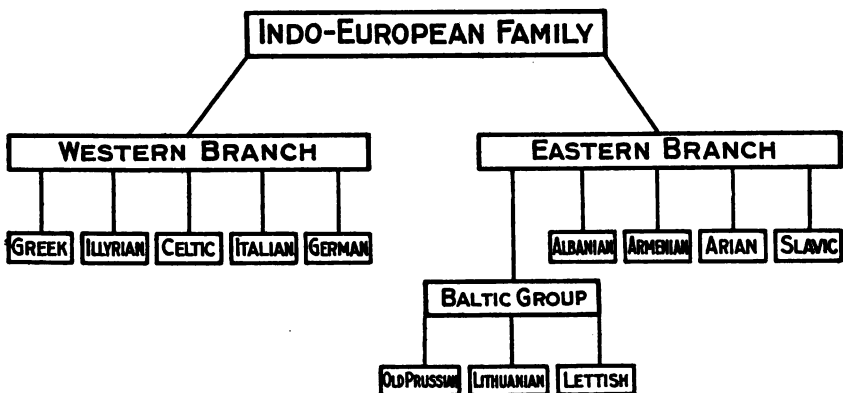
**ORIGIN.**—The Luthuanians are a branch of the Indo-European race, quite distinct from the Slavs and Germans. Earliest history found them dwelling on the shores of the Baltic Sea in the territory situated between the Vistula and the Salis rivers. According to the opinion of philologists the influence of the Lithuanian language on the cultured terminology of the Finns to the north, especially prior to the division of the Finnish language into the many dialects of today, clearly indicates that the Lithuanians lived near the Finns long before the appearance of the Slavic or the Germanic peoples in that part of Europe. The Lithuanians brought the first traces of culture and knowledge of religion to the peoples living north of them. The Lithuanians may therefore be considered as having an autochthonic as well as an historic claim to live and develop in this region, where their forefathers have dwelt from time immemorial. Anthropologically they belong to the dolichocephalic type. They are a blonde race, the light-haired, blue-eyed coloration predominating, tall of frame and massive of physique.

**PHILOLOGY.**—The Luthuanians have a distinct language which properly belongs to the Eastern Indo-European division. It is one of the oldest living languages, possessing a certain similarity to the Latin and the Greek, but more closely resembling the ancient Sanscrit. While it contains some Slavic adulteration, this is but the natural result of centuries of contiguity with Slavic races, and from the standpoint of the philologist the Lithuanian language resembles the Slavic no more than do other languages of the Indo-European division. Comparatively speaking a Slav is no better able to converse with a Lithuanian than an Englishman with an Italian or Frenchman. Professor Maksimov (*Encyclopedia Brokhaus*) says: "The Lithuanian and the Slavic languages have much in

common in their words for designating plants and vegetables, and tools used in tilling the land, which shows a common growth in culture during the latter period of their history." Otherwise, the professor continues, there is nothing in common between the Lithuanian and the Slav languages.

In the study of philology the Lithuanian language is of the highest importance, appreciation of this fact being indicated by the establishment of chairs for its instruction in some of the world's greatest universities. Kant, the philosopher (he was of Lithuanian descent, born in Prussian Lithuania), in his introduction to Rugh's Lithuanian Dictionary, says that the language should be preserved as the best means for the dissemination of culture and advancement among the Lithuanians, as the best expositor for linguists in their study of languages, and as the pharos to the means of communication of the races of antiquity. The Lithuanian language, as well as the language of the ancient Prussians, now extinct, together with the Lettish language of today constitute the Baltic branch of Languages, as is illustrated by the following chart of the Indo-European linguistic division:

THE POSITION OF THE LITHUANIANS IN THE FAMILY  
OF INDO-EUROPEAN NATIONS



The language of the ancient Prussians, very similar to the Lithuanian, and bearing a still closer resemblance to extant Lettish, became extinct toward the end of the Sixteenth Century, and the only traces of it now to be found are in books printed prior to that time. Lithuanian and Lettish are closely related to each other, the roots of practically all the words being the same, and the grammatical construction is similar. A Lithuanian and a Lett will soon learn to converse freely, the one with the other. It is difficult to determine at just what period these two languages became separated, but it is safe to say that the cleavage became marked some sixteen centuries ago.

#### HISTORICAL

**THE OLD PRUSSIAN AND THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS.**—Authentic history respecting these people begins with the spread of Christianity in Northern Europe. At that time the Lithuanians were dialectically divided into three branches: the Lithuanians proper, the Letts and the old Prussians. The old Prussians occupied the basin of the Vistula river and the territory along the shores of the Kurisch-Haff bay. The Poles, their nearest neighbors, unable to subjugate this group of the Lithuanians invoked in A. D. 1226 the aid of the Teutonic Knights, a military order organized for the purpose of expelling the Turks from the Holy Land. Having secured a foothold on Prussian soil, this order rapidly became powerful, and in less than a century succeeded in bending the Prussians to its yoke.

The territory wrested by these Teutonic Knights from the old Prussians, having become thoroughly Germanized, is known to us today as East and West Prussia. It lies along the shores of the Baltic between the Vistula and Pregel rivers, completely isolated from Germany, the Poles being on the west and south, and the Lithuanians on the north. With the coming of the Reformation these militant monks divested themselves of their robes and became secularized. Thus the foundation was laid for the present Junker caste. The inception of the present Ger-

man bureaucracy is to be found in the discipline of that military order; the ancient spirit of aggression, under the guise of Divine authority, the greed for conquest, spoliation and exploitation of unoffending peoples which characterized those old Teutonic Knights, still motivates the present-day Germany.

In these wars against the Prussians the Teutonic Knights succeeded in overrunning a portion of Lithuania proper, namely, the territory bound by the Pregel, Shirvint and Niemen rivers, as well as a part of Samogitia (the lower Lithuania) along the coast from the Niemen to the port of Klaipeda (Memel). This portion of Lithuania proper is today included in Germany, and constitutes Lithuania Minor, which the Lithuanians earnestly hope may again be united to Lithuania proper to form part of the free and independent State of Lithuania. For more than 600 years Lithuania Minor has been ruled by Germany with the utmost severity, and every attempt has been made thoroughly to Germanize the population, but with little success. They hold tenaciously to their language and have done much to improve the culture of Lithuanians in general.

In this part of Prussian Lithuania, known in Mediæval times as Sudavia, almost in the entire, or in the greater part of it, the Lithuanian language still exists to the present day.

The Lithuanians never acquiesced in their severance from Prussian Lithuania, but, on the contrary, persisted in their demands for its annexation to Lithuania.

For its restoration Mindaugis for many years waged war with the Teutonic Order. Likewise, Grand Duke Vitautas, after many years of warfare, defeated them at Gruenwald (1410), and at the peace conference in Velona demanded entire Lithuania Minor, with the rivers Pregel and Angers as boundaries.

**THE LETTS AND THE LIVONIAN KNIGHTS.**—The history of the Lettish branch is in some respects similar to that of the old Prussians. The Germans, with the avowed pur-

pose of spreading Christianity, founded the fortified town of Riga in 1201 and organized a military body—the Livonian Order, or Sword Bearers—which eventually subjugated the Letts. During the Reformation the Livonian Order became secularized, and its members, assuming baronial titles, remained, if not the rulers, at least overlords of large tracts of land. With the fall of the feudal system these barons granted a certain liberty of person to the Letts, but refused them the right to acquire land, or, if this right was granted at all care was taken to see that only small land holdings were conveyed to them. As a rule the barons preferred to cultivate the land themselves, or to let them out to tenants, and to this day more than two-thirds of Lettish lands are in the hands of German barons notwithstanding the fact that the Germans comprise but  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the population of the country. Despite over six centuries' subjection to German servitude, and Russian rule and influence, the Letts have preserved their language and their national spirit. Possessed of but little freedom since the decline of the feudal system, and of very little land, their schools and government offices controlled by the Germans, or, during the past few decades, in the hands of the Russians, nevertheless they have still progressed nationally and economically. Their farms, gardens, and orchards are the most fruitful in Russia, they are the best artisans, most honorable tradesmen and merchants, the ablest seamen, and in learning they have taken front rank. They have established their own newspapers and laid the foundations for their literature. They have organized successful societies for the promotion of arts and sciences, and the official statistics show that in all former Russia the Letts have had the smallest percentage of illiterates.

These German barons have exercised a potent influence upon the Russian bureaucracy, and have generally held the highest offices in the civil Russian government and the army. They have also had much to do in shaping the foreign and domestic policies of Russia, and they are largely responsible for the present demoralization of that

country. The Letts have firmly opposed their German oppressors. In the Russian revolution of 1905 the Letts were the first to rise and proclaim a Baltic Republic, and they demanded that the barons parcel out portions of their estates and offer the land for sale to the peasantry. When the Russian Duma was established the Letts at all elections successfully supported their candidates against the German landlords.

**LITHUANIANS AND THE CROSS MILITANT.**—The third and most numerous and most important branch—what may be considered the main stem of the Lithuanian race, lived, and still lives along the shores of Kurish-Haff and along the valley of the Niemen. Prior to the Twelfth Century Christianity had not been acknowledged by these people, and about this time, actuated mainly by religious motives, the Greek Orthodox Russians, on the east, and the Roman Catholic Poles, on the south, undertook to Christianize the Lithuanians at the point of the sword. In this undertaking the Poles were reinforced by the two German orders, the Teutonic Knights and the Swordbearers, which harried the Lithuanians on their western flank. These two orders proved to be the most dangerous against which the Lithuanians had to contend. Encouraged by concessions of conquered lands, titles of distinction, and special privileges conferred upon them by the Popes and neighboring Christian rulers, indigent knights from all quarters of Europe flocked to the standards of these two orders for the purpose of conquering the Lithuanians, or to baptize them with fire and sword, confiscate their property, and reduce them to serfdom. The Letts and Prussians having already experienced this Christian immolation, the Lithuanians were put to their own resources to defend themselves. Rimgaudas, cognizant of their danger, first united all the Lithuanians into a Grand Duchy, over which he assumed title. Later his son, Mindaugas, adopted discretion as the better part of valor, under such odds as assailed him, and consented to be baptized. For this act of submission he was crowned King of Lithuania

(1252) by Pope Innocent IV. But when he discovered that, despite his acknowledgement of the True Faith, the onslaughts of the two orders still continued, that pillage rather than conversion was their real purpose, he recanted and entered into a war for the preservation of his country. Under Mindaugas, and later under the rule of the Grand Dukes Gedeminas, Algirdas, Keistutis, and Vitautas, this defensive warfare seems to have been mainly successful. Lithuania voluntarily embraced Christianity in 1386.

**THE TATAR INVASION.**—Along about this period, the Tatar hordes, under Genghis Khan, descended upon the peoples occupying what are now the territories of Eastern and Southern Russia, and began to advance westward, threatening all Europe. The Russian provinces quickly placed themselves under the protection of the Lithuanians, who defeated the Tatars in several engagements, at length holding them along the Volga river and on the shores of the Sea of Azov.

During the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and the beginning of the Fifteenth Centuries Lithuanian rule extended over a large part of Great Russia, including Pskov and Novgorod, all of White Russia and a considerable portion of Lower Russia, now known as Ukraina. The boundaries of Lithuania stretched from the Baltic Sea in the North to the Black Sea in the South, to the sources of the Ugra river in the East, and to the Narva and Bug rivers in the West. (See maps—Lithuania, 1392-1410.) The Russian historians bear testimony to the benevolent rule of the Lithuanians over the Russian people during this epoch, and aver that they enjoyed the greatest liberty of thought, speech, religion, schooling, etc., through the equitableness of the laws and institutions based upon the Lithuanian Statute, while local self-government was harmonized to the customs of the inhabitants. Certain of these Russian provinces flourished under Lithuanian rule for over 500 years, finally reverting to Russia in the Eighteenth Century, partitionment of Poland and Lithuania.

**THE POLISH UNION.**—In the latter part of the Fourteenth Century Poland initiated a cabal against the integrity of the Lithuanian State which has persisted in a greater or less degree down to the present day. Its first step was to effect a personal union of the two countries through the marriage of Hedvig, Queen of Poland, with Jagello, the Lithuanian Grand Duke, and son of Algirdas, which was achieved in 1386. This action was first prompted by the idea that by thus uniting the two nations they might with greater success withstand the aggressions of the Teutonic Knights, formerly the allies of the Poles, but now arrayed against them. By this marriage Jagello became the king of Poland, but the two countries did not unite. The marriage of Jagello to the Queen of Poland having removed him as Grand Duke of Lithuania, Vitautas, a statesman of note, and an able leader, was elected to that vacancy.

This hymeneal relationship having been established between the two countries, Vitautas speedily utilized it to inaugurate a joint campaign against the Teutonic Order, and in 1410, at Gruenwald and Tannenberg, near the very spot where the Russians met defeat in 1915, the power of the Teutonic Order was forever broken by the armies of Vitautas and Jagello, and the German *Drang nach Osten* for that century was halted. Vitautas was later hailed as King of Lithuania by Sigismond, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but the crown sent by Sigismond to authenticate that act never adorned the head of Vitautas. The Polish nobility, fearing the prestige which it would confer on Lithuania, arrested its delivery at the border, and soon after Vitautas died.

Following his death the Lithuanians still continued to elect their rulers. Svidrigela, Zigmuntas, and Casimir of the Jagellon line were elevated to the dukedom in the order named. In order to preserve the figment of a personal union between Lithuania and Poland, the Poles repeatedly elected as their king the men chosen by the Lithuanians as their Grand Dukes. Casimir, Alexander, his son, Zigmuntas, the brother of Alexander, Sigismond



Augustus, the son of Zigmuntas, all were gratuitously entrusted with the Polish crown shortly following their election to the Lithuanian Grand Dukedom. Unable to maintain the political nexus between the two countries in any other way, the Poles adopted this method in the hope of establishing some claim on Lithuania.

Sigismond Augustus was the last of the Jagellon line, and upon him the Poles centered all their efforts in the vain attempt to effect a permanent union of the two countries. Promises of high privileges to the acquiescent Lithuanian nobility, and threats of severe punishment visited on the recalcitrant, preceded the convention called at Lublin in 1569. Here, over the protests of a large number of the Lithuanian delegates, the Lublin Union was formed under which Lithuania and Poland were welded into one so-called republic ruled over by the privileged nobility. In its political aspect this entity was not dissimilar to the present Austria-Hungary: both states were presided over by one head and were permitted but one senate and one "seim" or the legislative body, which convened alternately, first in one, then in the other country. A single coat of arms was adopted, with the insignia of both countries incorporated in the seal. The customs duties between the two nations were entirely abolished. In the face of all this, however, Lithuania persisted in maintaining her own army, her own fiscal and judicial system, and her administrative officers, such as marshal, chancellor, a hetman, and others.

**POLONIZATION OF LITHUANIA.**—These dual monarchs were elected for life. They exercised little authority, and power they had none. The government was uncentralized and unstable. The affairs of the dual monarchy were in the hands of the nobility, and the peasants were reduced to the condition of serfs, owned and judged by their overlords. The murder of a serf by a noble was made punishable by a nominal fine. These magnates maintained their own armies with which they frequently waged war against each other. Before each election the

nobility bartered for privileges and concessions with the monarchial candidates, and the peasants were looked upon as chattels in the deals. The predacity of the times eventually corrupted the Lithuanian nobility, who were prone to emulate their Polish exemplars. Polish "penetration" began to make itself felt. A provision of the Lublin Union prohibited the citizens of one nation to the agreement from accepting or holding public office in the other. Nevertheless the Poles ignored this prohibition, and became more or less an element in the official life of Lithuania, where, through the channels of public office, the churches, and the schools, they undertook the Polonization of the upper classes. An intense propaganda was kept up throughout the country to disparage the Lithuanian language. The Latin language was substituted in the Academy of Vilnius (founded 1578), which numbered among its alumni several literati who wrote in Lithuanian, and the children of the peasant class were barred from attending any of the higher schools. Gradually the Lithuanian nobility adopted the Polish language as their own, though the Lithuanian language continued to be used in every-day life and in literary works, especially during the period of the Reformation. In the religious field the Poles undertook to abridge the rights of the orthodox believers in Lithuania's Russian provinces, and their incursion into this field terminated in a war with Moscow, the present Russia, and with the Cossacks, the present Ukraina, the provinces professing the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church allying themselves with the Russians.

### *Partition of Lithuania and Poland*

Those were the three great causes that were responsible for the downfall of Poland and, together with it, of Lithuania, and both nations, disrupted by anarchy, were partitioned by the neighboring nations towards the end of the Eighteenth Century.

At the first partition of 1772 the Russians took the nearest Russian provinces away from Lithuania. At the

second partition in 1793 Russia received as her share the remaining Russian territories which had up to this time been a part of Lithuania. Thus the Russians detached from Lithuania the whole so-called Russian Lithuania and the Lithuanians were left only Lithuania Proper, namely, Samogitia (Zemaitija) and the Palatinatus of Vilnius, Trakai (Troki), etc. Thus the ethnographic borders of Lithuania were thereby defined by the Russians themselves. At the third partition in 1795 Russia took all that remained of Lithuania as ethnographically defined with the exception of the government of Suvalkai (Suvalki), which went to Prussia, and later was taken away from Prussia by Napoleon and annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw. The Congress of Vienna ceded the Government of Suvalkai together with Poland to Russia. Thus the Russians were able to get the whole of Lithuania, with the single exception of Prussian Lithuania, which from the time of the Teutonic Knights, as we have indicated, remained in the grip of the Germans. We see then that the bicentennial compact or union of Lithuania and Poland did not work out to the advantage of Lithuania, but brought about her ruin. The state was dissolved, the upper classes became separated from the common people, who still remained faithful to their language though they were without schools, without any rights and were oppressed by the degrading system of serfdom. Lithuania during this period made no progress in literature, political economy, or industry, but rather degenerated in these branches of activity.

**LITHUANIA'S RUSSIFICATION.**—But partitionment and the expropriation of territory did not sum up the whole burden visited upon this unfortunate country, and the Russian autocracy entered into an elaborate programme for the complete Russification of the Lithuanian peoples. The Lithuanian Statute was abolished in 1840 and Russian law was substituted. The magistrates and all government officials, from the governor to the most inferior policeman, were Russians. Railroad, highway, municipal

and Government laborers were Russians exclusively. If any Lithuanian professionals, qualified to hold office, were so favored, they were assigned to places remote from the mother country, and among the Russians. No Lithuanian peasant could hold more than 160 acres of land. Agricultural societies, meetings, and lectures were suppressed. Following the example of the Germans in Poznan and Silesia, the Russians colonized Lithuanian lands with Russians, and to accomplish this purpose the Russian land banks bought up large tracts of such lands, parcelled them into farms and sold them to Russian colonists on the easiest terms, to which were added many privileges. The Land Bank of Kovno alone has spent over 6,000,000 roubles in this project in the last few years. So numerous were the laws and restrictions that it was practically impossible for a Lithuanian to engage in any commercial enterprise.

In 1832, University of Vilnius, the sole University in Lithuania, and many high schools and colleges were closed. Russian schools were opened in 1867, not for the general diffusion of knowledge among the young, but principally in order to teach the Russian language. Greek Orthodox teachers alone, unacquainted with the Lithuanian language, were permitted to teach in the primary schools, and the private tutoring of children was made punishable by heavy fines, imprisonment and even exile, penalties which were often risked in order to inculcate Lithuanian ideals among the young. But the heaviest blow to Lithuanian learning and progress was the suppression of the press. In 1864, at a time when newspapers throughout the world were rapidly multiplying, Governor General Muravjev, as a punishment for an uprising in which the Lithuanians played but a small part, forbade them to publish newspapers and books, or to use the Latin characters to which they had for years been accustomed. Russian characters, wholly unsuitable to express the peculiarities of the Lithuanian language, were imposed upon them, and for forty years this prohibition exercised its depressing influence on the Lithuanian peo-

ple, who were compelled to rely on such literature as could be smuggled into the country from Prussia and the United States, a proceeding attended by great risk and the imposition of jail sentences and exile. Notwithstanding such oppression, the percentage of illiteracy in Lithuania today is remarkably small.

In religion the persecution was no less intense. Russia, professing the faith of the Greek Orthodox Church, closed all cloisters and schools conducted by the various Catholic religious orders, and suppressed all religious societies. Many of the Catholic Churches were put to the Greek Orthodox use, and in certain instances, where this was impractical, they were destroyed even by dynamite. Every attempt was made to induce or compel the Lithuanians to forsake their faith. The Russians erected their churches in the smallest towns and in the larger centers their soldiers were garrisoned in order that they might exert their linguistic influence upon the surrounding inhabitants.

**REGENERATION.**—For more than a century (1795-1915) the Lithuanians plodded along under Russia's heavy yoke. Previously exhausted by the lawlessness, oppression and disorder which accompanied the union with Poland, translated from that regime to one hundred years of attempted de-nationalization on the part of the Russian bureaucracy, it would be small wonder if the Lithuanian national aspiration were somewhat enfeebled, yet the country seems to have thrived on adversity. The Lithuanian renaissance commenced with the year 1904-5, coincident with the Russo-Japanese War, and the first Russian Revolution, when freedom of the press was once more restored to the people, and the sphere of their liberties was widened. The ecclesiastics, intelligentsia, and the large majority of the Polonized nobility have returned to the Lithuanian language, and thus intellectual classes have forwarded the work of culture and education of the people with an energy and enthusiasm astonishing to witness.

## LITHUANIAN EMIGRATION

*The Causes of Emigration*

Lithuanian emigration was born of tyranny. Utter lack of political and economic freedom, exclusion from schools, everlastingly hindered in developing commercially, and barred from holding public office or industrial positions, or even from the ownership of land in their own country—these are the causes which forced the Lithuanian youth to seek more congenial conditions in foreign lands.

*The Emigrant in Russia, Poland and (Lettonia)  
Latvia*

In the last few decades many Lithuanians therefore emigrated to Moscow, Petrograd, Odessa, and other cities in Russia; many went to the Caucasus and to Siberia; but from preference they chiefly sought a haven in Riga, Libau, Mitau and other cities of Latvia, the land of their racial twin, the Letts.

Before the war there were, altogether, about 300,000 such emigrants in Russia, Poland, and Latvia, and they asserted themselves in various ways. Their actual number, however, is not definitely known. There are many who failed to take part in national life, remaining dormant until the Great Revolution in Russia called many of them into activity. The war has augmented their number by about 250,000 refugees, who migrated of their own choice or fled when the German armies surged into, and occupied, their land.

*The Emigration to Great Britain, Africa and Elsewhere*

There are not many Lithuanian emigrants in Western Europe; there are a few settlements in the Prussian province of Hessen. Larger colonies are to be found in London, and in Glasgow and other cities of Scotland, where they have several Lithuanian parishes, numerous societies, and publish some Lithuanian newspapers.

Colonies are also to be found in South Africa, in Johannesburg, and other cities. There are not a few Lithuanians in New Zealand; some fair-sized colonies are

to be found in South America, especially in Argentina, where several Lithuanian Societies have been organized and where a newspaper is being published. In Canada the Lithuanians are located chiefly in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg.

### *The Lithuanians in the United States*

The largest emigration of Lithuanians was to the United States of America. In the middle of the last century Simon Daukantas, the Lithuanian historian, stated that Jacob, duke of Courland, colonized groups of Letts, and of Lithuanians who fled to Courland to escape serfdom, upon the Spanish island of Guadalupe in the year 1688, and that later the English disbanded the settlement and transported the colonists to what is now New York. In 1777 Kosciuszko, a Lithuanian, came to America to fight for her independence. Emigration en masse, however, did not start until 1868.

### *The Settlements and the Occupations of the Emigrants.*

The first Lithuanian emigrants settled in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania; and there are still large colonies in and in the vicinity of Pottsville, Shenandoah, Hazleton, Wilkes-Barre, and Scranton. Their chief occupation in this region is mining; a smaller number are engaged in business.

Many Lithuanians are to be found in the larger cities of the United States. In Chicago they have ten huge parishes and numerous societies; their total number there is very nearly 80,000. In New York City, too, there is a very large settlement with many societies of various aims and tendencies; the home offices of the two largest Lithuanian alliances in America are located there; there are seven large parishes and about 40,000 Lithuanians, all told, in Greater New York. Large settlements are to be found in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Detroit, as well as in many other cities and towns in the northeastern part of the country and in the

Middle West. There are not many Lithuanians in the South (Texas, New Mexico). Only a few settlements are to be found on the Pacific Coast (California, Oregon, Washington). In the cities the Lithuanians are chiefly progressive workers in factories of all sorts; many are skilled workers—tailoring claiming a great many of them; there is a large number of merchants; and more recently numerous professional men have made their appearance.

*The Influence of American Freedom Upon Lithuania.*

No one treasures American freedom more highly than the Lithuanians. Leaving the land of their fathers, a land where they had been oppressed and constrained in every phase of the national and individual existence by a foreign despot, they found a welcome haven in America. Here they reaped the benefits of education and culture freely and unhindered; they organized study-classes and meetings; they attended lectures, theatricals and concerts; they published, disseminated and read books and newspapers in their own tongue; they founded parishes and societies, and alliance of societies;—how vastly different was everything in America to the drastic prohibitions and the crushing ukase back home. Moreover, books and newspapers published in America were smuggled into Lithuania and, like a religious token, passed from hand to hand; those who returned from America became the living apostles of freedom. Lithuanians soon began to argue that if freedom was possible elsewhere, why was it not possible in their own native land.

*The Cultural Status of Lithuanians in America*

By having, in addition to the parochial schools, access to the public schools, and to the night schools in particular, the immigrant was able to supplement, and so broaden, the training and education he received from daily experience in the work-shop and from a study of publications in Lithuania.

There are practically no Lithuanians in America today who do not read at least their own newspapers, which now number twenty-five, several of which are dailies.



The Lithuanians in America early manifested a zeal for organization. At first they began to organize mutual benefit societies, which now number more than 2,000. Later, two large alliances, namely, the Lithuanian Alliance of America and the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America, having branches in every Lithuanian settlement and memberships of many thousands, were founded. There are over 110 Lithuanian parishes, many of which maintain parochial schools. There is also a multitude of theatrical, choral, art, and various professional associations, as well as numerous political clubs. The Lithuanians are, in short, living as a branch of the American cultural tree.

### *The Number of Lithuanians in America*

It is very difficult to state how many Lithuanians there actually are in America, inasmuch as no official statistics are available. The Bureau of Immigration began to classify Lithuanians separately only in 1899—prior to this date they had been classed as Russians or even Poles.

It is possible, however, to give a fair estimate of their numbers in America.

In 1899 J. Jonas (Zilius) published a book entitled “Lietuviai Amerikoje” (Lithuanians in America) wherein he pointed out that there were 275,000 Lithuanians belonging to some sort of organization.

From 1899, after separate classification had been instituted by the American government, to 1914, 252,594 Lithuanians had landed in, and only 19,171 had departed from, America. The total influx for these fifteen years thus amounted to 233,423.

The number of those who came to America prior to, and after, 1899 is therefore 508,423.

The natural increase should, of course, be added to this number. According to Russian statistics the increase in the Lithuanian provinces was about 1.4 to 1.6 per cent; but these numbers disregard the emigration from the Lithuanian provinces, which, for instance, amounted to 53,354 people in the government of Kaunas in the single year of

1911. In America this increase should be larger because, in general, not only were the immigrants of the younger sort, but because they lived in better sanitary conditions and the re-emigration was but very small. But suppose 1.6 to be the percentage taken, then for 270,000 people within 20 years and for 233,000 people for 12 years the increase is such as to give 680,000 as the number of Lithuanians in America.

This total certainly represents a minimum, and the figure 750,000, accepted at the Lithuanian Convention in New York, March 13-14, 1918, cannot be called an exaggeration.

From the reports of the government of the United States we learn that of the Lithuanian immigrants 67% were men and 33% women. Their distribution according to ages was as follows: children up to fourteen, 8%; from fourteen to forty-five, 90%; over forty-five years of age, only 2%.

In general, then, only healthy, young and strong workers came to America, the aged, and the maimed or ill, returned to their native land.

What sinews, what young and healthy power, Lithuania has supplied to America is made evident by the above, as is the loss sustained by Lithuania, which received but little, if any, compensation for rearing them.

It may be instructive to view this question from the aspect of dollars and cents. It costs, according to American actuaries, from \$1,700 to \$2,000 to rear a child up to the age of sixteen. If we take only the Lithuanian immigrants from 1899, i. e., 230,000 of them, we shall find that they cost Lithuania from 396 to 466 millions of dollars. Their transportation at \$100 per capita amounts to \$23,300,000. These 230,000 emigrants cost Lithuania, then, from 420 to 490 millions of dollars. If the numbers who came prior to 1899 be similarly valued, then Lithuania would seem to have contributed about a billion dollars in wealth to America.

Through emigration Lithuania has, in the past, supplied the wealth of youthful power to many a land. Now,

after three heavy years of German occupation, of oppression and hunger and disease, she is compelled, and has a right, to ask for aid, and assistance also, to the political support in her struggle for liberty and independence.

### ETHNOGRAPHIC LITHUANIA

The Lithuanian nation has marvelously survived. Neither age-long subjugation and oppression nor the studied application of the modern instruments of denationalization and economic exploitation have rendered it, soul or soil, unto its mighty, preying neighbors. The Lithuanian people never surrendered, but parried every blow without ever stopping to inquire how great the odds against them were. The prize has been well worth the cost. For they have, throughout most of the land which they have inhabited for ages, not only preserved their language and their customs, and the national traits and characteristics which mark them as a race apart, as different from the neighboring peoples, but they have been morally elevated. Theirs has been a fight of the people for the things and ideals the people cherished. It has indeed been a fight for democracy.

The platform of every active political party in Lithuania contains the demand for the right of self-determination within the whole of Ethnographic Lithuania. It is therefore necessary to determine the meaning of the term and to bound the territory in which the Lithuanians desire to voice their rights.

*No Pretensions to Historic Lithuania.* All these parties recognize only too well that it would be both futile and wrong to desire the re-establishment of historic Lithuania, which, as constituted in the days of Algirdas and Vitautas, extended over a vast expanse inhabited by many other races. Nor would any of them lay the slightest claim to lands which were genuinely Lithuanian in times remote, but whose inhabitants subsequently suffered complete transformation, as, for instance, Western Prussia, where the population has ceased being Lithuanian alto-

gether in speech, in custom, and in spirit. In elevating a nation composed of a racially homogeneous element to statehood it is desirable to insure, if possible, its proper functioning and weal in the future by granting at the very outset whatever just and well-founded claims it may have. Lithuanians hold, for example, that it would be highly unfair to isolate from Ethnographic Lithuania regions which only recently began to waver before the onslaughts of the Polish and German expansionists and which had neither sufficient time nor even the semblance of a chance to reorganize and to counter blows. These imperialists, Slav and Teuton, are still bending every organized effort in their competition to gain complete mastery over the Lithuanian people. Their aggressive tactics naturally left a mark in places, and the inhabitants of some parts of the borderland—chiefly in the east (in the government of Vilnius), in the south (in the government of Grodno), and in the west (in Lithuania Minor, or Eastern Prussia)—forsook in part the language of their fathers. But that does not mean that they ceased being Lithuanian. Many instances from the national and cultural aspects of the history of the Lithuanian awakening could be given to show how not only individuals, but whole villages and towns, at first resented the re-introduction of the Lithuanian tongue and how these people, incited by Polish chauvinists, came to blows over the issue even in churches. Later, however, having learned gradually from Lithuanian publications of their past and who they are, the folk regained national consciousness, again became Lithuanians heart and soul, and supported their nation's cause to the fullest extent.

One reason why the majority of Lithuanians are not permanently weaned from their allegiance to the mother country is found in the fact that Polonization makes no lasting impression on them because, under the influence of the anti-democratic propaganda of the Polish imperialists, the character of the Lithuanians is attacked and their language is derisively referred to as "*chlopska, poganska mowa*"—peasant, pagan language. Naturally this cre-

ates resentment toward, rather than affection for, Polish institutions.

It is true that there are Polish-speaking Lithuanians who strive for the welfare of the mother country and who endeavor to develop her culture. They are proud to avow their Lithuanian descent and they are co-operating with their countrymen in the creation of a Lithuanian State. Being true citizens of their country, they are to be congratulated and they are deserving of appreciation and thanks of the Lithuanian people.

But laying aside the special issues involved in the Lithuanian problems, it would not even be correct to define a nation on the basis of language alone. There are individual nations and states like Belgium and France, or England and the United States, which have the same language but have no desire to merge into a single state. On the other hand, there are states like Switzerland which are composed of peoples speaking different tongues who do not entertain the idea of separation. Language is undoubtedly a great factor in binding people together, but it is certainly not the deciding factor.

*Lithuania—the Ethnographic Concept.* Lithuanians are firmly convinced that justice should be as great a factor as language in deciding whether or not certain "doubtful" regions appertain to Ethnographic Lithuania. If, for example, the language of certain localities in the Borderland has deteriorated into a jargon, a corruption and jumble, of the languages of both the native and the recent intruder, the Lithuanians hold that they have at least a just claim there. If, in addition, the inhabitants of the localities in question are in their very being, in their customs, traits and inclinations, the very same people as the masses of which the Lithuanian nation so-called is itself composed, they hold that such localities are Lithuanian without question. The fact that the corruption of the language of these people may be readily attributed to the preparations laid for it by early subjecting them to unending servitude and through the most exhaustive and incessant impositions upon their cultural, political and

economic life seems, to Lithuanians, to elevate the issue from a mere claim to a question of justice. It is patent that the elimination of all artificial agencies of denationalization would soon result in the voluntary and in every way beneficial return of these people to the national family of which they are racial members. Such has indeed already been the case in innumerable instances in the interior of the country; even the most conservative element of Lithuania, namely, the nobility, have only recently expressed themselves decisively in this regard, for they have come forward openly and substantially to the support of Lithuania and her aspirations.

The following instances, taken from the national life of the people, will serve to show that these statements are based upon fact:

(1) The Great Lithuanian Convention (it is so known among the Lithuanians because it marked, broadly speaking, the transition from chaos to order in their struggle for national existence) was called in the city of Vilnius in 1905. Over two thousand delegates participated in its deliberations. Quite a few of the delegates were unable to speak Lithuanian, but had come nevertheless because, they averred, they felt they were in every way as Lithuanians, as loyal to the cause of Lithuania as those who spoke that language in their homes.

According to "Tevynes Sargas" (No. 6, 1918), now published in the city of Vilnius, many of the Roman Catholic parishes of White Russians in the government of Vilnius expressed similar sentiments after representatives of the Lithuanian Taryba or Council had explained to them the decisions of the Lithuanian Conference. When asked if they wished to be separated from Lithuania, these White Russians answered that they had no desire to be separated from either the Lithuanians or from Lithuania, and did not wish to be again joined to Russia.

(2) According to the older statistics, the city of Vilnius was said to be Polish because only a few thousand of its inhabitants admitted being Lithuanian. At present, however, conditions have changed in Lithuania so

that according to the latest statistics of inhabitants of Roman Catholics made in the city of Vilnius, a great majority of them call themselves Lithuanians, though most of them speak Polish. Only about eight per cent admitted that they were Poles. (Reference, *Lietuvos Aidas*.)

(3) It is widely known that until recently a part of the nobility of Lithuania was of Polish orientation, supported the Polish National-Democratic propaganda for the polonization of Lithuania, and fostered the renewal of the union between Lithuania and Poland. After Lithuania had been occupied by the German army, a memorandum, asking for a union of Lithuania and Poland, bearing the signatures of 44 of the influential nobility of Vilnius, was addressed to the Imperial German Government. That this Polish step was not an expression of the wish of the nobility of Lithuania is shown by the action of the Lithuanian magnates, who protested against this memorandum ("*Tevynes Sargas*," Feb. 26, 1918), declaring that they desired the "Resurrection of Lithuania, but not of Poland in Lithuania," and furthermore, that they stood genuinely for an independent Lithuania and were fully convinced of her national strength and vigor.

(4) The Representatives of *Zemstvos* of the government of Grodno presented to the State Council of Lithuania at Vilnius a memorandum in which they stated that it is the wish of the inhabitants of the government of Grodno that this administrative division should be joined to the State of Lithuania. They further state that, although the inhabitants of the government of Grodno have forgotten the language of their ancestors, nevertheless they feel that they are Lithuanians and intend to learn the Lithuanian language, which, they believe, should be the official language of the State.

(5) From "*Lietuvos Aidas*" (May 1, 1918) we learn that the Lithuanians residing in Russia have organized themselves into separate professional and trade associations, such as the postal and telegraph employers, rail-

road men, engineers, foresters, etc. What such organizations mean to the Lithuanian state may be implied from the address of the representative of the Lithuanian Railroad Men to the Lithuanian Taryba:

"The Alliance of the Lithuanian Railroad Men sends me," said the representative of the Railroad Men, "to greet the Lithuanian Taryba and to give it every assurance that it will assist it in regulating the domestic affairs of an independent Lithuania. Realizing the important part that railroads play in the life of the state, we have organized ourselves in order to aid the Taryba, taking pains to perfect the administrative and technical branches of the organization in order that we may be able to take over complete charge of the railroads of the state upon short notice. Our organization is now twenty-four thousand strong, and such a force is quite sufficient to handle the railroad needs of the country. We await with impatience the moment when we shall be able to return to our native land and to labor for the benefit of our people."

The great majority of Lithuanians, like those above living in Russia, had long been indifferent to the aims of their country before the Great War, but the inspiring object of a national resurrection and the vision of the arduous but satisfying labor of rebuilding the Lithuanian state has stimulated them into making every sacrifice for its success.

It was natural to expect that people who had been indifferent, or had forgotten in part the interests of their country, would be roused into action the moment their country had approached the threshold of an independent existence. The older statistics, and the conclusions derived from them, should for this reason undergo a reappraisal and be considered in a different light, for they have failed to yield the facts concerning the national alignment of the inhabitants of the country.

Such being the case, maps like that of the "Races in Eastern Europe" (Daily Telegraph, No. 25, 1917), prepared solely on the basis of the Russian official statistics



of 1897, yield practically no information as to the ethnographic condition of the country.

Considerations such as these just discussed, as well as an understanding of the actual situation in Lithuania, prompts us to declare that the term "ethnographic Lithuania" embraces all the regions where the Lithuanian language has survived, either pure or dialectic, where the traits and the customs of the folk remain distinctly Lithuanian, and some districts where not all of them feel and call themselves Lithuanian—irrespective of whether they were, or are, under Russian or German rule.

It is not amiss to point out that the Great War broke out only a decade after the Lithuanians had succeeded in wresting from Russian bureaucracy the right to print anything in their own language and in the Latin characters. The intelligent men and women, hindered as they were in every way by the oppressive Czarist regime, were unable therefore to enlighten in so short a time all the people throughout the whole country as to who they really were and what the particular purposes of the aggressive neighbors toward the Lithuanian nation had been. From this standpoint, then, the Lithuanian nation found itself in a most unfortunate predicament.

The Lithuanians discovered, moreover, to their grief that it was very difficult for them to present their own version of their case to the Entente Allies because their scheming neighbors had maliciously flooded the press abroad, that of England and America in particular, with articles and news items calculated to obscure, to dilute, or to pervert the real facts about Lithuania.

Therefore, desiring truth and justice in the explorations of the racial questions, it is necessary to keep in view that the small nations, oppressed for centuries and weakened by their rulers in the struggle for their inherent right, find themselves in an unenviable position in comparison with their enemies, who—as is obvious—have endeavored and do endeavor not to relinquish the oppressed nations, but are using various powerful means to control which the small nations do not command for their protection and preservation.

*Data and Criteria.* In the question of the determination of the boundaries of Ethnographic Lithuania the Lithuanian people have, they honestly believe, abided by the fairest of rules. They have recognized, in the first place, that thorough-going honesty, not bias, should be the highest consideration in the choice of evidence, and secondly, that the whole study must, wherever possible, be based on unimpeachable official documents and on the research of men of science who were quite disinterested in the sentiments of this nation or that in the matter and who were guided solely by the scientific aspect of the subject under investigation.

Following the third and final partitioning of Lithuania and Poland, Lithuania Propria or Lithuania Major as it came to be known, in 1795, was, with the exception of the government of Suvalkai, joined to Russia. The government of Suvalkai had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, but Napoleon I later took it away from them and incorporated it into his scheme of Poland. Eventually the Congress of Vienna decreed that Poland, together with the government of Suvalkai, go to Russia.

After a thorough, fair and sincere sifting of unbiased evidence, the Lithuanians conclude and declare that genuine Lithuania in its day comprised, and was accepted and recognized by neighboring nations to comprise: (a) Lithuania Propria, composed of the Duchy of Samogitia and the principalities of Vilnius and Trakai (Troki) as a nucleus of the Lithuanian state; (b) with Naugardukas (Novogrodek) and Pagirys (Poles call it Podlachia; see map); and (c) the eastern portion of present Prussia—a part of Lithuania under Teuton subjection since ancient times called "Lithuania Minor" in Lithuanian and German literature.

After Russia had incorporated Lithuania Major into her empire, she apportioned it as follows:

1. (a) the territory between the river Nemunas (Niemn) and the Prussian boundary, a part of the olden principality of Trakai, and

- (b) the southern part of Samogitia, were called the government of Suvalkai and assigned to the jurisdiction of the governor-general of Warsaw;
- 2. (a) the northern sections of the principalities of Trakai and Vilnius, and
  - (b) the whole of Samogitia, excluding small southern part, formed the government of Kaunas or Kovna;
- 3. (a) the eastern section of the principality of Trakai and remaining part of principality of Vilnius, together with
  - (b) the White Russian zones of Disna and Vileika, constituted the government of Vilnius;
- 4. (a) the western part of Naugardukas or Novogrodek and
  - (b) the southernmost section of the principality of Trakai and Pagivys or Podlachia composed the government of Gardinas or Grodno.

The three latter governments were assigned to the sphere of jurisdiction of the governor-general of Vilnius or Vilna.

Under Russia, then, the Lithuanians inhabited the following governments: 1. Suvalkai, 2. Kaunas, 3. Vilnius, and 4. (a) the northern part of Grodno as well as (b) the zone of Naugardukas (Novogrodek) district in the government of Minsk.

A study of the nature of the inhabitants of the domain indicated above will show that they are essentially Lithuanian. In some of the localities, of course, some of the folk speak a jargon, a jumble of Lithuanian, Polish and the White Russian, but in every other respect, i. e., in so far as their customs, traits and religion are concerned, they are true Lithuanians.

Between the years 1850 and 1860 the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg collected some data which yields some interesting information in this regard.

Several decades ago statistical science was far from being as highly advanced as it is today and it was then but being introduced into Russia. Yet the facts concerning Lithuanian ethnography collected in those days were fairer because they were devoid of bias. There was, for example, neither a Lithuanian nor a White Russian question then. The struggle in those days was between the Russian government and the nobility and clergy of Lithuania. No danger was involved in the display of figures showing a greater or a lesser numerical strength of the Lithuanians simply because there was then no pressing and clear-cut national movement among the Lithuanians. The peasant question was then uppermost, while the national question as we today construe it was but a secondary issue.

Between the years of 1850 and 1860 the Russian government commanded the ministers of all churches to supply data to the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, concerning the racial distribution of Christians in their parishes. In writing on the ethnography of Lithuania the scientists and statesmen of those days made use of precisely this data.

### *The Researches of D'Erkert and Koreva*

Inasmuch as some of the neighboring nations claim pretensions to some of the territory of true Lithuania, it is necessary to become acquainted with the conclusions of ethnographic scholars in regard to the boundaries of ethnographic Lithuania. Let us first study the works of Capt. R. D'Erkert and Capt. Koreva of the Russian General Staff. (\*)

D'Erkert desired to determine the boundaries and population of partitioned Poland and Lithuania. While the Lithuanians happen to be mentioned only incidentally, these investigations are of value none the less in as much

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(\*) See Capt. Koreva's "Materialy dla geografii i statistiki Rosii, sobrannyje oficerom generalnago shtaba Vilenskoj gubernii. Kapitan gener. Shtaba Koreva, 1861, *Ethnograficheskaja Karta*" and Capt. D'Erkert's "Atlas Ethnographique des Provinces habites en totalite ou en partie par des Polonais, par R. D'Erkert, Capitain aux gardes, Membre effective de la Societe Geographique Imperiale de Russie. St. Petersburg, 1863, Planches I-IV.

as they contain material on the boundaries of Ethnographic Lithuania. The most interesting of these studies is D'Erkert's *Atlas of Historic Poland* with commentaries in French, published in St. Petersburg in 1863. The title of the work indicates that the author's purpose was to ascertain the number of Poles in various districts or areas. It is from D'Erkert's work that the following information about the governments of Kaunas and Vilnius is taken. But for the sake of clarity it is necessary to note that Roman Catholic White Russians and Ukrainians are included with the Poles, while the Orthodox White Russians and Ukrainians are classified as Russians. The number of Poles is, for this reason, greater than that given by the official Russian statistics of 1897. The Roman Catholic White Russians are identical with the Lithuanians, but they have forgotten the Lithuanian language; centuries ago the Lithuanians accepted Roman Catholicism, and the White Russians much earlier were converted to the Greek-orthodox faith. The figures giving the population of the government of Vilnius include the two non-Lithuanian districts of Disna and Vileika, which were then inhabited chiefly by White Russians and contained, according to the statistics of that date, about 220,000 inhabitants all told.

The table\* reads:

	Government of Kaunas	Government of Vilnius	Total	Per cent
Lithuanians .....	786,000	386,000	1,172,000	65.0
Poles .....	30,000	212,000	242,000	14.0
Russians .....	16,000	178,000	194,000	10.8
Jews .....	100,000	77,000	177,000	9.2
Germans .....	14,000	900	14,900	.8
Miscellaneous .....	600	2,800	3,400	.2
Total.....	947,000	857,000	1,804,000	100.

Eighty-three percent of the population of the government of Kaunas is Lithuanian; if the districts of Disna and Vileika be excluded, sixty percent of the inhabitants of the government of Vilnius is Lithuanian.

The second document of importance is Capt. Koreva's work, published by the War Office in St. Petersburg in 1861. Koreva is in entire agreement with D'Erkert in the definition of the eastern ethnographic boundary, which would seem to indicate that both men made use of the same source, namely, the information submitted to the Academy of Sciences by the church officials of the government of Vilnius. Koreva was also guided by the observations of Narbut, a recognized historian of Lithuania. Unfortunately, he gives only the percentages and not the actual numbers of the various nationalities.

According to Koreva's figures, the races in the government of Vilnius were distributed as follows: (\*)

For the total population of the government of Vilnius, Koreva gives 841,099, which is several thousand less than that given by D'Erkert. They do not contradict one another, however. D'Erkert published his atlas two years later, had recourse to a later data, and so could show a somewhat larger total. Both give the same figures for the Lithuanians. The total, 386,860, simply means that 46 percent of all the inhabitants of Vilnius are Lithuanians or, if the districts of Disna and Vileika be excluded, that about 61 percent of the people are Lithuanians. The results are in either case the same and go to show that the region embraced by the government of Vilnius is quite Lithuanian with respect to the majority of the population.

M. Janzul of the Russian Archeological Commission

(\*) cf. "Vairas," 1914.

Slav	Percent	Total
(a) Real Russians .....	2.8	
(b) Poles .....	12.3	
(c) White Russians .....	29.4	44.0
Lithuanians .....		46.0
Others		
(a) Tatars .....	.20	
(b) Jews .....	8.00	
(c) Karaims .....	.06	10.0
(d) Miscellaneous .....	1.74	
		100.0

comes to the same conclusion, notwithstanding that M. Janzul's object was to show that this particular region was inhabited chiefly by the Russians and that the number of Lithuanians and Poles there was negligible; in other words, he wished to prove that it was a genuinely Russian region. There is very little difference between the eastern borders traced by them and the eastern border of ancient, genuine Lithuania.

The northern border of Lithuania coincides very nearly with the ancient border and runs along what is now the boundary between Kaunas and Courland; the differences are in a few places like in the strip along the sea-coast from Memel to the river Aa, which in ancient times belonged to the Duchy of Samogitia and is inhabited wholly by Lithuanians.

### *The Census of 1897*

In the year 1864, Muravjev prohibited the publication of anything in the Lithuanian language and in the Latin characters. From that time on the denationalization of the Lithuanian people gradually began to spread so that by 1897, when the Russian census was taken by Russian officials, who by no means could be taken as unbiased, the number of inhabitants speaking Lithuanian in these parts had fallen off considerably.

It is widely known that at the time this census was being taken, a violent agitation was carried on by both the Russians and the Poles, and that the latter's partial successes were due to the fact that the Lithuanians were prohibited from printing even a prayerbook in their own language. In addition to this reason for such an arbitrary cut in the number of Lithuanians, we must bear in mind the fact that the census of 1897 gave not so much the ethnographic distribution as the number of people speaking this or that language, because the inhabitants were recorded on the basis of language alone, and thus assigned to this or that race.

The following table from the census of 1897 gives the figures of inhabitants speaking the various languages in the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius and Suvalkai:

Government	District	Popula- tion.	Percent Speaking						
			Lith.	Pol.	Wh't	Jew.	Rus.	Ger.	Mis.
Vilnius	City of Vilnius.....	154,532	7.5	30.9	4.2	40.3	20.2	.....	2.4
	Dist. of Vilnius.....	208,781	35.0	12.1	42.0	7.4	3.3	.....	0.2
	“ Svencioniai.....	172,231	33.8	6.0	47.6	7.1	5.4	.....	0.1
	“ Trakai.....	203,401	58.1	2.1	15.8	9.5	4.6	.....	0.8
	“ Lyda.....	207,767	8.7	4.6	73.2	12.2	1.2	.....	0.1
	“ Asmena.....	233,559	3.8	1.7	80.1	12.1	2.3	.....	0.0
	“ Disna.....	204,923	0.3	2.4	81.7	10.1	5.5	.....	0.0
	“ Vileika.....	208,013	.....	2.5	87.0	9.5	0.9	.....	0.1
Total Government of Vilnius..		1,591,207	20.7	7.8	54.0	12.5	4.5	.....	0.5
Suvalkai	Dist. of Suvalkai.....	92,910	8.5	66.8	0.2	11.3	7.9	4.3	1.0
	“ Augustavas.....	79,214	0.2	49.1	32.5	11.6	5.3	0.4	0.8
	“ Seinai.....	81,924	59.7	22.9	0.1	11.8	4.3	1.2	.....
	“ Kalvarija.....	70,425	72.6	10.1	0.1	9.3	3.6	3.6	0.7
	“ Mariampolis.....	114,762	77.0	2.9	0.4	10.3	4.0	5.0	0.4
	“ Vladislavovas..	67,295	82.8	1.3	.....	7.4	6.9	7.1	0.5
	“ Vilkaviskis.....	79,883	68.7	3.9	.....	8.5	2.1	15.9	0.9
Total Government of Suvalkai		562,463	52.8	22.4	4.7	10.1	4.0	5.3	0.6

*Official Data from the Census of 1897*

Governments and Districts.	Total population	White Russians and other Slavs	Lithuanians	Jews	Poles	Germans	Tatars	Letts and Others	Orthodox	Roman Catholics
Dist. of Vilnius.....	363,313	132,353	76,030	77,224	73,088	2,844	771	1,003	36,518	237,842
City of Vilnius.....	154,532	39,992	3,131	61,347	47,795	2,170	722	875	28,690	56,964
Dist. of Svencioniai.....	172,231	91,162	58,134	12,276	10,322	146	83	109	17,004	134,430
“ “ Trakai.....	203,401	41,483	118,153	19,398	22,884	457	799	227	9,244	170,537
“ “ Lyda.....	205,767	178,303	17,825	24,775	9,623	161	66	138	51,748	188,562
“ “ Ashmena.....	233,560	192,257	8,754	28,205	4,084	89	70	103	71,331	132,546
“ “ Disna.....	204,923	178,303	703	20,684	4,984	127	43	129	107,954	66,311
“ “ Vileika.....	208,013	182,652	121	19,813	5,122	2,170	722	875	121,497	66,619
Total for the govern- ment of Vilnius.....	1,591,207	971,439	279,720	202,374	103,054	3,873	1,969	1,778	.....	.....
Percent of languages spoken.....		61.2	17.6	12.6	8.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	.....	.....
Dist. of Kaunas.....	227,431	27,736	94,236	45,126	52,847	5,195	1,195	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Vilkomir.....	229,118	9,699	165,580	30,140	20,923	434	12	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Neve-Alex- androvsk.....	208,487	55,635	103,385	26,426	18,823	287	18	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Poneviezh.....	222,831	4,441	159,610	27,122	14,507	1,411	271	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Raseiniai.....	235,362	5,703	179,461	26,381	13,022	10,395	56	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Telshel.....	183,351	2,910	148,890	22,695	2,775	1,668	26	.....	.....	.....
“ “ Shaulei.....	237,934	6,228	168,003	34,137	14,951	2,422	84	.....	.....	.....
Total for the govern- ment of Kaunas.....	1,554,564	112,352	1,019,774	212,028	139,618	21,762	1,612	37,418	.....	.....



Reference must here be made to another census taken by the government of the population of Vilnius which indicates how accurately the inhabitants of Vilnius appraise their origin and reaffirm fealty to their parent state. By order of Governor Verevkin, 1910-1911, the local government took a census of the Roman Catholic parishes with respect to the racial allegiance of the parishioners. In Vilnius about 22,000 professed to being Lithuanians out of 97,000 members of the various Roman Catholic parishes, compared with 11,500 thus registering in 1897, or an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

In spite of all the oppression which the Lithuanian nation had to suffer at that time for clinging steadfastly to its own language, in spite of the arbitrary manipulation of the figures giving the number of Lithuanians, it became obvious nevertheless that the country was still essentially Lithuanian-speaking. In the government of Kaunas 66% of the inhabitants retained the Lithuanian language as their own, in the government of Suvalkai the percentage was 52.5; only in Vilnius, for reasons explained previously, was the lingual recession more marked.

But here denationalization is mostly limited to obliteration of the mother tongue; this does not however signify that the Lithuanians hereabout absorb the White Russian culture to the extent of separating them from other neighboring Lithuanians. The White Russians do not possess their own culture, because living under the oppression of Czardom they have had no press of their own until recently, hence no opportunity to develop their cultural and mental characteristics; therefore the masses of the White Russians remain practically the same as they were at the time of the subjugation of Lithuania, influenced by Lithuanian culture acquired through several centuries of Lithuanian association.

The percentage of Poles living in those governments was as follows: Kaunas 8.8, Vilnius 7.8; Suvalkai 22.4. It is necessary to observe that many who then considered themselves Polish were only "polonized" Lithuanians, recent events show that such people are gladly and fast re-

turning to the lingual family of which they are racial members.

It is a fact beyond the possibility of contradiction that genuine Lithuania as denoted by the boundaries of Lithuania Propria from the remotest times had been inhabited by no other race but the Lithuanians and under the sovereignty of their own, and that up to the present day its inhabitants remain essentially Lithuanian, that from immemorial times the Lithuanians were shedding their blood in defense of this country from the neighbors, every political party in Lithuania recognizes that the boundaries of Lithuania Propria and Ethnographic Lithuania coincide everywhere excepting in the south, where, according to some the line should run along the river Niemen without excluding the city and district of Grodno, while, according to others, who are in the majority, the line should include the whole Grodno government, excluding only the three Ukrainian districts of Bielsk, Brest-Litovsk and Kobrin, because it had once been inhabited by the ancient Lithuanian Getvingi and once formed a part of the principalities of Naugardukas and Trakai. This opinion is based, among other things, on the fact that even at present there are, beyond the river Niemen, large tracts or islands of Lithuanian-speaking people as, for example, in the vicinity of Slonim, Naugardukas, and elsewhere, the other inhabitants mostly speak White-Russian, but are in every other respect Lithuanians, descendants of the ancient Getvingi.

The geographic situation of the population in the northern government of Grodno and in the district of Naugardukas (Novogródek), of the government of Minsk, compelled them to adjoin the Lithuanians because the rivers of the northern part of the government of Grodno empty into the Niemen; therefore the inhabitants of the whole basin of the River Niemen are by nature trending toward Lithuania, and their economic interests are more intimately connected with the interests of Lithuania than with any other country, as is indicated by the history of the ancient economic development of the country. This

development always has tended toward Lithuania without regard to the fact that the outlet of Niemen, the largest artery of Lithuania's communications, for centuries remained in the hands of the German.

The southeastern part of Lithuania should include therefore a part of the district of Naugardukas, in the government of Minsk, together with the city of Naugardukas, which is the capital of the district bearing the same name.

Lithuanians base their claim of Grodno on economic and political reasons, holding that the contiguity of Lithuania and the Ukraine would give the latter access to the Baltic Sea and the former access to the Black Sea.

### *The Area and Population of Prussian Lithuania*

The plight of Lithuanians living in the western part of the country was worse because Germany's aggressiveness was much more dangerous. Prof. Kurschat of Königsberg, an able student of the language and culture of the Lithuanian people, made a study of Prussian Lithuania. His judgments on Lithuanian matters is generally accepted as authoritative, and so his observations on the linguistic boundaries of Prussian Lithuania may be considered quite reliable. The introduction and accompanying map to Kurschat's *Grammar*\* show that "Lithuanian is still spoken in the northern parts of Prussia—namely, in and near the vicinity of the towns of Labguva (Labiau), Klaipeda (Memel), Tilsit (Tilze), Ragaine (Ragnit), Pilekalnis, Stalupenai, Gumbine, Insterburg (Insrute), Darkiemis, and Galdape."

Concerning the number of Prussian Lithuanians, Kurschat says: "The figures giving the number of Lithuanian inhabitants in these parts are not accurate because such statistics are not kept by the Prussian or Russian governments. Here in Prussia it is nevertheless accepted that out of a total of about 380,000 inhabitants there are 150,000 Lithuanian-speaking." Granting the boundaries indicated by Kurschat, the piece of territory which should for every reason be returned to Lithuania, covers

nearly 10,000 square klm. According to the official German statistics for 1905\*\* the population of this area was about 530,000. It goes without saying that the territory inhabited by Lithuanians from time immemorial extended over a considerably greater area,\* but many of them succumbed to Teutonic aggression, became thoroughly Germanized, and only isolated patches remain where Lithuanian is still spoken. The population of Prussian Lithuania according to districts is: Heydekrug 43,244, Niederung 55,010, City of Tilsit 37,148, District of Tilsit 46,436, Ragnit 54,771, Pillkallen 46,230, Stalupoenen 43,888, Gumbinnen 50,718, City of Insterburg 28,902, District of Insterburg 46,232, Darkehmen 32,288, Goldap 44,813. The western boundary of ethnographic Lithuania is very nearly as given in map VII.\*\*\*

Here it is to be noted that, according to an agreement of the Allies with Russia, Lithuania Minor, as far as Koenigsberg, was to be assigned to Russia; consequently the fate of this territory was already determined in advance by the Allies and was partially recognized as a territory of Lithuania.

The Minister of Foreign Relations of Russia, Sazonov, at the beginning of the war made inquiries among Lithuanians relative to Lithuania Minor and, realizing the true situation, he evidently persuaded the Allies to join both parts of Lithuania, whereby the territory of Russia was to be increased. This agreement was published by the Bolshevik government and is a matter of common knowledge.

### *The Area and Population of Lithuania.*

The extent and the population of Ethnographic Lith-

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\* Grammatik der Littauischen Sprache, von Friedrich Kurschat, Professor zu Koenigsberg i. pr., Halle, 1876.

\*\* Vorlaeufige Ergebnisse der Volkszaehlung von Dezember 1905 im Koenigreiche Preussen. Im amtlichen Auftrage bearbeitet von Dr. Jr. Max Broezike, Berlin, 1906. Verlag des Koeniglichen Statistischen Landesamts.

\*\*\* Lithuanians from Eastern Prussia, living in America or Russia, claim as Lithuania the following counties: (Kreise): Memel, Tilsit, Niederung, Ragnit, Stalupenen, Pillkallen, Gumbinnen, Insterburg, Goldap, Angerburg, Darkehmen, Wehlau, Labiau, Tapiau, Fischhausen, Gerdauen, Koenigsberg. Ethnographically these counties are all Lithuanian, though linguistically as stated in the text.

uania, i. e., the region in which Lithuanians desire to express themselves, is a subject of importance and well worth discussing.

The Central Statistical Committee is the supreme authority on statistical matters in Russia and we shall apply the data published by this committee in 1912 to Ethnographic Lithuania. We shall, moreover, take for granted the boundaries given previously in this document; these boundaries are indeed identical with those which the Lithuanian National Council of Russia had in mind during its meeting of April 20, 1917, when it voted to sever districts of Disna and Vileika because of their non-Lithuanian character, and to demand the re-annexation of the government of Suvalkai to Lithuania because it was thoroughly, genuinely Lithuanian. Our task, then, is to determine the area and population in two instances: (1) Taking only the district of Grodno in the government of Grodno and (2) taking the whole of Grodno with the exception of the three districts mentioned previously, namely, those of Brest-Litovsk, Bielsk, and Kobrin, but including a part of the districts of Naugardukas in the government of Minsk.

It has already been demonstrated that the boundaries of Lithuania Major coincide with the periphery of the territorial group composed of the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius (exclusive of the districts of Disna and Vileika), Suvalkai, and of the district of Grodno, situated in the government bearing the same name.

The Russian Central Statistical Committee gives the following data concerning this region:

	Kaunas	Vilnius	Suvalkai	Grodno	Courland	Total
Sq. Versts. ....	35,316	36,825	10,824	3,126	84	86,175
Population .....	1,842,000	2,020,000	705,000	243,700	22,840	4,833,000

The data for the districts of Disna and Vileika are as follows:

Lithuania Major thus occupies 75,506 sq. versts or 85,929 sq. km. and its population is 4,304,540; were Lithuania Minor added, the area would be 96,926 sq. km. and the population would be 4,834,000.

If the government of Grodno (without the districts of

Bielsk, Brest-Litovsk and Kobrin), as well as a part of the district of Naugardukas amounting to 2,000 sq. km. with 80,000 inhabitants be added, the figures for Lithuania would read:

	Sq. Kms.	Population
Lithuania, according to first paragraph.....	96,926	4,884,000
Government of Grodno.....	21,568	908,880
Part of Naugardukas .....	2,000	80,000
Total.....	120,489	5,817,880

From the figures given above it follows that Lithuania is not so diminutive as one would at first surmise, and that the country is rather densely populated. Taking Russia as a whole, we find that there are 9 people to the square verst; taking the sixty governments of Russia there are 32 inhabitants per sq. verst; in the government of Kaunas there are, on the average, 55, in Vilnius, 51, and in Suvalkai as many as 65 people per square verst. There is then an average of 57 inhabitants per square verst in Lithuania Major.

### *Lithuania and Other Countries Compared*

A comparison of Lithuania with other small nations yields some very interesting results. Let us study, for a moment, the following table:

Country	Census	Population by 1,000's	Sq. Miles by 1,000's
Albania .....	1914	850	11.48
Belgium .....	1913	7,683	11.89
Bulgaria .....	1914	4,765	44.06
Denmark .....	1911	2,772	15.07
Finland .....	1912	3,197	125.69
Greece .....	1914	4,363	41.69
Holland .....	1912	6,114	12.79
<i>Ethnographic Lithuania</i> .....	1912	5,817	47.00
<i>Lithuania and Latvia</i> .....	1912	8,417	75.00
Luxembourg .....	1910	260	1.00
Montenegro .....	1914	516	5.57
Norway .....	1910	2,392	124.86
Portugal .....	1911	5,950	35.85
Rumania .....	1914	7,516	58.18
Serbia .....	1914	4,548	33.70
Sweden .....	1912	5,504	178.18
Switzerland .....	1911	3,780	15.98

Fourteen of the twenty-one European states are here enumerated; only the seven larger powers are omitted. Finland, which will soon, it seems, attain its independence, and Lithuania, which in recent times is bent on bearing the yoke of slavery no longer, are included in the list as separate entities.

The table shows that Lithuania, in so far as area and population are concerned, can make a more reasonable claim for independence than many of the present European states and that, on the same basis, she would occupy treasured freedom and independence and how they refuse fourth or fifth place among fourteen existing states, i. e., she would be larger than ten existent European states. Lithuania is larger than either Bulgaria or Serbia, and if we call to mind the fervor with which the latter has fought, willingly shedding her blood and bearing the hardships and burdens of war, we can appreciate how the Serbs to become a mere appendage of a large and wealthy state. The position of Lithuania from the standpoint of geography and economics is more favorable than that of Switzerland or Serbia, which happen to be shut out from the great highways of the world. Free communication furnishes one of the most potent means against economic, and thereby political, slavery. To geographic position is primarily due the successful evolution of such small states as Denmark, Holland, Belgium, although alongside of them there flourish the neighboring powerful nations and their states. Free communication with the world gives the peoples an opportunity to distribute their merchandise and to obtain foreign goods where and in what manner they desire, whereby their own interests are served and subjection to neighboring powerful states is rendered less likely.

#### *The Confederation of Lithuania and Latvia*

Latvia or Lettonia stretches northward from Lithuania along the coast and, in the vicinity of the Gulf of Riga, reaches Esthonia. It includes the government of Courland; the districts of Riga, Volmar, Wenden and Valk

in the government of Livonia; the districts of Dvinsk, Riezhitsa, and Lutzau in the government of Vitebsk; and a small area in the western part of the government of Pskov.

According to the above description the figures for Latvia, based on the census of 1897, are as follows:

	Sq. Km.	Population
Courland .....	27,024	786,885
Livonia (4 districts).....	27,190	765,394
Vitebsk (3 districts).....	16,820	492,846
Total .....	71,034	1,994,625

Taking for granted an increase of 30% from 1897 to 1912, the population for this region would be at least 2,600,000. The union of the territories and populations of Lithuania and Latvia would net 191,523 sq. kms. with 8,417,000 people.

Were Lithuania to combine with Latvia, its racial twin, as many Lithuanians and Letts now advocate, a large state would result. The table will show that such a state would be larger than Rumania, Holland, or Belgium in population and the peer of any one of them in area. Everything, from the standpoint of economics and politics, would tend to promote the growth and development of such a state; the natural resources and the geographical position should also render this union a favorable one. Politically, Lithuania and Latvia never had a quarrel—and there are no apparent reasons why they should have any now or later. Both of these nations, neighbors and neighborly throughout the ages, have never wronged one another in any sense and there should, therefore, be no grounds for any discontent or misunderstandings if, in the future, they should agree to join politically.

The population of Latvia (Lettonia) as well as its territory is here given approximately.



## THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF LITHUANIA

### *Lithuania Is an Agricultural Country*

Lithuania is a level country and its soil is good and fertile. The chief occupation of the inhabitants is therefore agriculture and stock-raising.

In accordance with Russian practice the land of the country was divided into larger boyar estates and peasant plots. According to the statistics of 1894, 39.8% of the land in Russian Lithuania belonged to the boyars, 43.2% to the peasants, 5% to the urban population, and 12% to the State.

The distribution and division of lands was as follows:

#### *Peasant Land*

	Up to 5 desia- tins*	From 5 to 10 desia- tins	Over 10 desia- tins	Total farming land in desiatins
Government				
Kaunas.....	4.3%	15.5	80.2	1,610
Vilnius.....	3.1%	31.5	65.2	1,279
Suvalkai.....	43.2%	23.0	38.8	502

#### *Boyar Land*

	Up to 100 desia- tins	100 to 1,000 desia- tins	Over 1,000 desia- tins	Total boyar land in desia- tins
Government				
Kaunas.....	80.6	17.3	2.1	1,728
Vilnius.....	80.7	16.9	2.4	1,533

\* One desiatin equals approximately 2.6 acres.

From these figures it is obvious that the majority of the farms are of medium size, ranging over 10 desiatins, and well adapted to intensive farming. Since 1894, the date of these statistics, there has been considerable change in the distribution and division of these farms. The large, financially encumbered estates, of the Poles especially have been cut up and sold to the farmers, thus increasing the number of medium sized farms.

It may be said in a broad, general way that a fair share of the inhabitants are well supplied with land. Herein lies the difference between the conditions concerning land

in Lithuania and in Russia as well as in other countries where the farmers own but small patches of soil.

### *Lithuanian Farmers Live Separately*

In Central Europe and Russia the farmers live in villages. It is quite different in Lithuania, where the farmers, like those of Scandinavia and America, live on their own farms. The few villages that still remain expect soon to spread over the individual farms because this aids intensive cultivation. The Lithuanian farmhouses are surrounded by gardens and orchard and make a splendid impression.

The comparatively comfortable condition of a large part of the farmers of the country has always wrought a great influence upon the Lithuanian cultural movement; having obtained certain rights following the abolition of serfdom, the larger farmers began to turn their attention to the education of their children and sent them not only through the secondary schools, but also to the universities. This proved a boon to the Lithuanian movement.

### *The People with Little or No Land*

The above figures show that there are also many people with insufficient land to eke out a living, or even none at all. In 1913 there were, in the government of Kaunas, 216,564 people, or 17.9% of the population, owning no land. In the government of Suvalkai one-third of the peasants had no land.

### *Farm Products*

Rye is the main crop of the country and covers 41% of the total arable soil; oats covers 22.87%, barley 11.65%, potatoes 10.75%, wheat 4.73%, peas 3.75%, flax 2.71% (1911).

### *Fruits and Vegetables*

Fruits and vegetables would also be profitable to the farmer if commercial and marketing conditions were improved. Lithuania is well known for its apples, cherries, and its numerous varieties of berries.

### *Stock-Raising*

Besides being exporters of grain, the Lithuanians have, in recent years, increasingly taken up stock-breeding with the result that they now raise better cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, geese, etc. Dairying has also increased in recent times.

### *German Exploitation*

Most of the grain, cattle and fowl of Lithuania were exported to Germany. But Germany refused to receive dressed beef and fowl—she dressed them herself; she would not accept milled grain, but demanded it whole. Large duties were placed on grain and cattle entering Germany, especially following the Russo-Japanese war. It is obvious from this that the Germans exploited the Lithuanians even before the war.

It is impossible to give definite figures on the imports and exports of Lithuania because such statistics were grouped with those for the whole of Russia. But it is possible to infer from provincial sources that they were considerable.

While farming in Lithuania stood higher in Lithuania than in Russia, the yield was hardly up to modern standards. With better political and economic conditions it may be expected that the productivity of the soil will increase.

### *Lithuanian Forests*

Lithuania has been famous for her forests since ancient times.

The following table gives the number of desiatins of forests in each government:

Government	Desiatins	Percent
Suvalkai .....	404,525	15
Kaunas .....	618,638	17
Vilnius .....	975,654	25
Total.....	1,998,817	—

Pine, used much in building, is the chief wood. Oak, birch, ash, maple, skrubliai, linden, of the best quality, are

abundant. The Lithuanian forests are filled with enormous quantities of excellent mushrooms.

Timber was also exported to Germany. About 300,000,000 cubic feet of wood were transported from Lithuania to Memel by way of the Niemen river alone. Here the Germans also demanded only the green log—they would not accept sawed lumber or made its export prohibitive by heavy tariffs. Moreover, by controlling the mouth of the Niemen river, the Germans were able to dictate the price of the lumber brought down the stream.

### *Lakes and Fishing*

Lithuania is dotted with lakes, both large and small. In the government of Kaunas alone there are not less than 800 lakes occupying a total of 377 sq. versts. Pisciculture is consequently well developed and, with better political and commercial conditions, could be made to yield still larger profits.

### *Peat*

Lithuania is rich in peat and the deposits are large and numerous. The inhabitants have used peat as a fuel for a long time. It represents a source of fuel and power which will come to be utilized more and more in future industry, its by-products being very valuable.

### *The Dearth of Minerals*

In the governments of Vilnius and Kaunas there are rich deposits of chalk, which are satisfactory for the making of cement, lime and alabaster. Before the war cement factories were in the process of organization; after the war this material will be of great importance in rebuilding the ruined portions of the country. Clay fit for the ceramic industry can be found all over the country. In the government of Vilnius there are large tracts of quartz sand which could, under proper conditions, be made into glass. The forests are full of materials for the manufacture of wood-pulp, paper, furniture, etc.

### *Mineral Springs*

Lithuania boasts of several health resorts with mineral springs situated in very healthful locations on the banks of the river Niemen. Birstonas and Druskinikai are the best known. These springs are famous because they are known to contain more radium than any other springs in the world. In ancient times salt was obtained from the springs at Druskinikai, whence the name Druska is the Lithuanian for salt.

### *Industry*

Because of the unfortunate political conditions, industry has not been able to thrive in Lithuania. There are now, nevertheless, several manufacturing plants in Vilnius, Kaunas, Shauliai, and other cities. The manufactured products are leather, paper, agricultural implements and machines, nails, machinery, horseshoes, etc. Other industries are ceramics, beet sugar, oils, alcohol and brewing. The present manufacturing facilities are only sufficient to meet some of the needs of the country. Lithuania has practically no metallurgical industry, because of the absence of coal and iron. According to recent advices, German geological surveyors have discovered iron ore and coal in Lithuania.

### *Household Industry*

The Lithuanian peasant wears linen underclothes and woolen clothing, which is woven and made by members of his household. Lithuania raises much flax and wool, and hence, with the introduction of capital, should be able to build up a flourishing textile industry, which the people like and understand.

### *Amber Industry*

The amber industry should not be overlooked. The eastern Baltic Sea shore is the only country in the world where the collecting, digging and manufacture of the amber is a practical industry. The amber is found in the so-called "blue earth" layers of the tertiary period (the layers are from 2 to 3½ feet thick), not only on the beach

of the Baltic Sea, but also further in the interior of Lithuania. Even before the time of Herodotus, as shown by the excavations of Greece, Italy, Egypt, the Baltic amber was known to the ancient world. In our times the value of amber has diminished, but even nowadays this industry continues to exist in Lithuania Minor as the monopoly of the Prussian government. All products of amber, such as necklaces, buttons, buckles, cigarette holders, etc., which are displayed in the windows of the jewelry stores, come from Lithuania's soil. In the future this industry can be greatly expanded.

### *Future Prospects*

There are not many water-falls in Lithuania, but the river Niemen offers quite a head along its course which will no doubt be utilized in the future. For example, were the two bends of the river near Birstonas straightened, the project would develop enough power to run many large industrial plants as well as electric railroads. There are many other swift currents which can be harnessed.

While Lithuania has in the past exported most of its timber, grain, stock, and other farm products, its natural resources are so varied and virgin that with better political conditions in the future greater production and larger exports would be insured.

The geographical position and the sea-coast offer many opportunities for commercial and industrial development. With powerful and affluent Russia as an eastern neighbor, Lithuania at once has better prospects for development than some of the present European states like, for instance, Switzerland, Serbia, because the commerce with Western Europe of this vast country crosses Lithuania.

### CONCLUSION

The unbearable political and economic conditions in Lithuania practically made commerce a forbidden sphere of activity for the inhabitants and forced them to stick to the farm. Russia's attitude toward the borderland peoples of the empire was a great factor in thwarting the

commercial development of the country. Russia considered Lithuania a conquered land, which therefore had to support and strengthen the conqueror and refrain from any development of her own. Every attempt to better her own condition was considered a move for secession from Russia. Hence, initiative and every progressive move incurred the displeasure of the authorities and every imaginable obstacle was placed in the way of the development of capital.

Besides, the general economic policies of Russia were a ban on the commerce of Lithuania. High duties were placed on machinery of all kinds, iron, ore, coal, etc., which the Lithuanians could easily have obtained from England, Sweden, or America at cheaper rates than by hauling them by rail thousands of miles from the East, the Ural, or Southern Russia.

The third obstacle to industry, which affected Lithuania in particular, was the division of Lithuania into two parts—into Russian and Prussian Lithuania. This division gave Germany possession of the mouth of the river Niemen with the port of Memel and complete control of the country's river-commerce. The Lithuanians were thus forced to pay the highest duties to Germany on everything that was exported by way of the river Niemen simply because the mouth of that stream was in German hands.

### *Future Industrial Development*

In order that readers may more readily understand the economic possibilities of Lithuania it is necessary to call attention to certain branches of economic development of new Lithuania.

1. In the first place, labor will mobilize for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated country by rebuilding destroyed homes, all kinds of factories, etc. For that purpose this will give opportunity for manufacture such as the production of cement, and ceramics, for which there is plenty of raw material at home; simultaneously, building of factories will expand, especially wood

frame structures, there being an abundance of timber available.

2. The development of agriculture will call for the production of agricultural machinery. Also there will be a great impetus to live-stock production—cows, oxen, horses, sheep, etc., for farming as well as for breeding.

3. Perhaps one of the most important factors will be the means of communication. Railroads, highways, etc., rolling stock, and other material which suffered destruction during the war must be replaced; hence there will be a great need of cars, locomotives and works for supplying railroads in the future. There is plenty of labor in the country at the present time, engaged in this industry before as well as during, the war, in Russia's industries as well as those of Germany.

4. Textile industry has a marvelous future in Lithuania because flax is grown abundantly in the country. Wool industry has been very successful. There is a good prospect for the linseed oil industry. The cotton textile industry has been altogether neglected in the country and there will be plenty of opportunities for its development.

5. The leather industry is certain to expand. The city of Shauliai was formerly noted as a great center of leather manufacture. With this shoe-making is closely allied and in this industry great opportunities are afforded.

6. Grain elevators, refrigerators, cold storage, and cold storage-cars will play an important part in the development of Lithuanian agriculture and industry. For the products handled by these agencies we expect to get in exchange iron, steel, coal and other materials that are not procurable in the country.

In general, it may be said that from the industrial standpoint, there are excellent prospects in Lithuania for the productive employment of capital, and with ready access to the sea by way of the ports of Memel, Koenigsberg and Libau, distribution of Lithuanian production might be easily effected.

To show that the country is wide awake to commerce and trading, attention is called to the fact that in spite of



the attempts of old Russia to hamper all endeavour for fostering growth of co-operative associations the co-operative system has been developing in recent years in Lithuania very rapidly. Just before the war there existed 184 separate and large co-operative organizations with 75,521 members, and with a capital of 9,000,000 rouble. These organizations had their own banks, and it may be expected they will play an important part in the economic and financial reconstruction of Lithuania.

### THE CULTURAL EVOLUTION AND REAWAKENING OF LITHUANIA

It is a striking fact that Lithuania, which was a mighty and a renowned nation in the distant past, should display a vigorous activity culturally and nationalistically only in recent times.

#### *The Ancient Culture of the Lithuanians*

Up to the close of the Fourteenth Century, when Lithuania had accepted Christianity, the life of her people was governed largely by pre-Christian institutions and an ancient culture whose remnants have survived to this day and are preserved in the Lithuanian collections of folklore, which are especially rich in song and story. Variety, grace, novelty of expression and deep poetic feeling were some of the characteristics of the Lithuanian folk-song, which not only attracted the attention of European savants, but also gripped and inspired many a line in Mickiewicz, Goethe, and other great European poets.

#### *The White Russian Influence*

After the Lithuanians had succeeded under the leadership of their grand dukes, in extending their borders far to the east by occupying large tracts in the Russian provinces, the upper or ruling classes of the grand duchy always adapted themselves to the prevailing political conditions of the conquered provinces and eventually even went so far as to intermarry with the natives. The policy of Lithuania was not to suppress, but to support, the alien

elements. Such tactics naturally left their impress upon the Lithuanian nation itself. Many documents, and especially the chronicles, even the Lithuanian Legal Statute itself, were written in the language of the White Russians in order that they could be more widely and readily understood by alien subjects.

### *The Use of Latin*

With the acceptance of Christianity foreign languages, and especially Latin, began to be introduced into the schools in accordance with the prevailing fashion. The letters of Gediminas and Vitautas, grand dukes of Lithuania, show that even prior to the acceptance of Christianity most of the state documents had been written in Latin. This custom prevailed throughout the Seventeenth, the Eighteenth, and even the Nineteenth Centuries, in much the same way as it had in other, and particularly in the Roman Catholic, states of Europe.

### *The Polish Influence*

During the same period, and subsequent to the Union of Lublin, which united Poland and Lithuania into a single republic, in particular, the Polish language began to work its way into the councils, churches and salons of Lithuania. It is not at all surprising that Polish literature should have found congenial soil among the polonized nobility of the country because they read Polish books. Following the Reformation many works of religious content were published in Polish even in Lithuania.

### *The Rise of Lithuanian Literature*

The invention of printing in the Sixteenth Century gave rise to a purely Lithuanian literature, Prussian Lithuania being particularly productive in this regard. Of the 59 Lithuanian books published from 1547 to 1701, 24 were designed for the Protestants of Prussian Lithuania, 8 for the Calvinists, and 27 for the Roman Catholics of Lithuania. Prof. Volter is of the opinion that the dearth of information about the history of the Lithuanian language and literature can be ascribed to the fact that

the remnants of this literature were destroyed along about the Seventeenth Century. Many of these books have disappeared entirely; in fact, single copies of only a few of them are still extant. They were written and published exclusively by Lithuanians who had received their education in the University of Koenigsberg or at the Academy of Vilnius.

### *The Earliest Lithuanian Writers*

The first Lithuanian writers were Martin Mosvidius, John Bretkunas (1535-1602) and Rev. Dauksha, who was famous as a preacher and translator of the Bible. It was Dauksha who first raised the Lithuanian question and pointed out how indispensable a factor language was in nationalistic and cultural development. "To take the language from a nation," said Dauksha, "is equivalent to taking the sun from the heavens, to destroying world-order, to snuffing out the life and the honor of a nation." K. Shirvydas was the first Lithuanian lexicographer; in 1624 he published a Latin-Polish-Lithuanian dictionary. In Prussian Lithuania literature was fostered by L. Lengstokas (1562-1631), and Daniel Klein, the author of the first Lithuanian grammar. Calvinist literature was enriched by the labors of Morkunas and Chilinskis; the latter was a translator of the Bible.

### *The Poet Donelaitis*

Christian Donelaitis was the first major poet among the Lithuanians. "Seasons of the Year," written in hexameter, is the most highly prized of all his works. In 1865 the Russian Imperial Academy published his complete works at its own expense. During the present war George Baltrushaitis, the Lithuanian poet, and Viacheslav Ivanov, the Russian poet, collaborated in bringing out a Russian translation, also in hexameter, of "The Joys of Spring."

### *The Literary Men of the Nineteenth Century*

Beginning with the Nineteenth Century, Lithuanian literature came to be dominated by authors who had received

their higher education at the Academy in Vilnius. In 1805 Bishop M. Giedraitis published the New Testament; following him there is a long line of writers, among whom D. Poshka, S. Daukantas, Bishop Valanchius, Ivinskas, and Bishop Baronas figure prominently. Some of the writers of this period made a specialty of the history of the country, others wrote stories and poetry for the masses inspiring them in a new spiritual life, while still others like the Jushkevichius brothers, collected and arranged for publication the vast folk-lore of Lithuania. The work of the Jushkevichius brothers is of great scientific interest and was published at the expense of the Russian Academy of Science.

### *The Polish-Lithuanian Period*

It must be admitted that Lithuanian literature had spread rather slowly up to the latter half of the Nineteenth Century because the conditions were very unfavorable then, and in the later years especially. That is the reason why so many of the Polonized nobility had given up all hope of promoting Lithuanian culture and why they literally flung themselves into the arms of the Poles. Lithuania schooled a whole group of Polish authors; poets and historians like Mickiewicz, Syrokomla, Kraszewski, Narbut, the Counts Tyszkiewicz, and a host of others received their training at the University of Vilnius. They wrote in Polish, but their spirit was Lithuanian; they paid a glorious tribute to the nature of Lithuania and to the deeds of the Lithuanian nation; indeed, their works were largely responsible for the nationalistic reawakening of genuine Lithuanians in later days.

In the meantime the Lithuanian masses had long—in fact, up to the latter half of the Nineteenth Century—been denied the right of taking part in public life; they were shut out from the sources of learning; they were oppressed, and terribly oppressed, by serfdom. It should be pointed out here that this same mass of Lithuanian peasants, left to themselves and being naturally conservative, succeeded in preserving the Lithuanian language in

its ancient, unmarred purity; up to the latest times the language has thus remained practically wholly uninfluenced by foreign agencies. It is from these masses that the present wide-spread spiritual awakening of the Lithuanians originated—an awakening which had been but weakly fostered by the nobility beginning with the Sixteenth Century.

### *The Prohibition of the Lithuanian Press*

The prohibition of the Lithuanian press was still another factor in retarding the rise of Lithuanian literature and culture. In 1864, when serfdom had been abolished in Lithuania and a brighter future seemed at hand, a new obstacle was thrown across their path of advancement. From 1864 to 1904, the people had been prohibited from printing even a prayer-book in their own language and in the Latin characters. Barred for forty years from printing the most insignificant booklet or paper; persecuted with unspeakable severity for smuggling such publications over the border; prohibited from using their language in public places, in their meetings and courts; their children compelled to receive instruction in a language they did not understand;—these are some of the things the Lithuanian people had to tolerate. One must marvel at how these people, kept aloof from culture from the Nineteenth to the beginning of the Twentieth Century, were nevertheless able to “carry on” and overcome the most formidable obstacles.

### *A New Movement in Lithuanian Literature*

In 1883, while the ban on the Lithuanian press still oppressed the spiritual life of the people, Dr. John Basanavichius and other Lithuanians began the publication of “Auszra” or “Dawn” in Tilsit, Prussia, and with Dr. John Szlupas, now a prominent Lithuanian in America, as its first editor. This monthly gave a mighty impulse to social movements among the people and galvanized the youth and the intellectuals into action. It drew a distinct line between the Poles and the Lithuanians and laid down

a program for the nationalistic evolution of the Lithuanian people. Later two journals, "Varpas" (The Bell), of a democratic and liberal hue meant for the intellectuals, and "Ukininkas" (The Farmer), supplanted "Ausra." The editor of both of these publications was the renowned Lithuanian publicist and poet, Dr. Vincent Kudirka, whose divers talents and noble and lofty idealism gripped the intellectuals and moulded the political and the social thought of the people.

The Christian Democrats also began the publication of "Apzvalga" (Review) and "Tevynes Sargas" (The Country's Guardian) abroad. With the further branching out of political thought, "Darbininko Balsas" (The Workmen's Voice), too, made its appearance (1900). Every political party in Lithuania had had therefore an organ for the exposition of its thoughts and ideas abroad before the Lithuanians had again been granted the use of their press.

In free America, too, the Lithuanian emigrant published books and newspapers which were often mailed in sealed letters, in order to deceive the censors, to their kinsfolk back home.

It was this Lithuanian literary activity abroad that forced the Russian government to revoke its prohibition of Lithuanian print.

### *The Period of Unusual Activity*

Twelve hundred publications of all sorts had, according to bibliographers, appeared from the beginning of the Eighteenth Century to the year 1891; from 1891 to 1904 the number had risen most markedly. With the recovery of the right to print Lithuanian literature began to thrive. It is unnecessary to enumerate here the separate authors and their works; it is sufficient to state that up to the outbreak of the present war twelve Lithuanian newspapers and journals were published in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, seven in Kaunas, three in Riga, three in Suvalkai government, while twelve papers were issued in Prussian Lithuania, etc.; in the United States their num-

ber was twenty, in Scotland two. There were, then, before the war, sixty-eight periodic publications of various sorts and tendencies.

The Press Exhibition held in Vilnius in 1914 is very interesting in this regard because it revealed that art, science and popular-science literature thrived with a vigor equal to that of the periodic publications.



### *The Strength of the General Cultural Movement*

Back in 1891 Prof. Volter of St. Petersburg declared concerning the later Lithuanian movement: "Young Lithuania has succeeded, first, in developing a new spelling and literary language for the Lithuanian people; secondly, it has satisfactorily explained the close ethnographic relationship existing between the Letts and the Lithuanians and has pointed out the absolute divergence of the interests of the Lithuanian intellectuals from those of the Poles and, thirdly, it has disseminated culture among the people by means of books, pamphlets and periodicals. Lithuanian literature contains not only books of spiritual content, but also, in spite of all the harsh difficulties encountered in its development, works reflecting the culture of Europe. The Poles may say what they please, but the fact remains that the Lithuanians inhabiting the Lithuanian territory not only continue to speak in their own native tongue, but they have also been successful in preserving their ancient customs and traits. Moreover, their children have attended secondary and higher schools and it has thus been made possible for this people to evolve a literature of their own which has told the truth to the masses and guarded them from exploitation." If such be the opinion of a foreign savant of the status of the Lithuanian movement in 1891 one need harbor no doubt in his mind of the incomparably greater and stronger movement since that time, and particularly in the years following the Russian Upheaval of 1905, when the Lithuanians won the right to print. Lithuanian publications in recent times number thousands. The youth of the country have literally flocked to the universities and

technical schools, while the intellectuals have not only imbued the people with European culture, but have themselves contributed to the sum total of knowledge by research work. There are not a few professors in the universities and technical schools on the continent who were born and reared in Lithuania and many have won renown in the domain of art. M. Chiurlianis, for example, is an artist whose symbolic philosophic paintings have given rise to an entirely new movement in art; Vidunas is an author of unusual ability and originality, while J. Baltrushaitis is a writer whose literary-philosophical works rank with the best among continental authors. There is hardly a phase in science that has not been enriched by the research of Lithuanian scholars.

### *Organizations for the Dissemination of Culture*

Inasmuch as the Russian government did not desist from its policy of Russianization through the schools even after 1905, the Lithuanians began to establish, in so far as was practicable in Russia, schools affiliated with some organizations. There were three such organizations in Lithuania—one in each government.

“Saule” (Sun) of Kaunas maintained teachers’ courses as well as secondary classes of a practical nature and, through its sixty-eight branches throughout the government of Kaunas, disseminated culture in general by means of elementary schools and libraries.

“Ziburys” (Light), operating in Suvalkai, maintained a girls’ gymnasium in Mariampol and elementary schools and libraries at its fifty-seven branches.

“Rytas” (Morning) performed a similar service through its branches in the government of Vilnius.

These three organizations were the solid foundation upon which the systematic elementary training of the people was built. True, the government had stipulated that Russian be taught in their schools, but the Lithuanian language was taught along with the Russian and the children were, in general, taught in a proper Lithuanian spirit.



### *The Lithuanian Scientific Society*

The Lithuanian Scientific Society was founded in Vilnius in 1907 for the purpose of centralizing the intellectual interests of the country and has today about one thousand members. The fields explored by its members were anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, archæology, linguistics and history. Its transactions and papers were published in its organ "Lietuvin Tauta" (the Lithuanian Nation). The Society had a library of 16,547 works in 20,000 volumes as well as archives which contained a large collection of ancient documents and manuscripts and a special collection of Lithuanian folk-lore; it maintained, in addition, a museum of rare interest and value. The institution became, through its library of rare books and manuscripts, the center not only of Lithuanian men of research, but also of other European savants who were interested in these particular fields.

### *The Society of Fine Arts*

The Lithuanian Society of Fine Arts deserves to be mentioned as a large and important institution. Its home is likewise in Vilnius, where it maintains its collections and permanent exhibition of Lithuanian painters and sculptors. M. Chiurlianis, before referred to, is the acknowledged peer among the painters. With the advent of the German Armies his pictures were transferred to Moscow and the Lithuanians made use of this opportunity to hold an exhibition of his works there. The Russians were naturally interested in his art and the press was unanimous in acclaiming it the most interesting exhibition of the season.

Before the war there were altogether about three hundred societies of learning and art throughout Lithuania Major.

### *Agricultural and Other Societies*

In Lithuania there were, in addition, numerous agricultural societies. Two of the societies of the government of Suvalkai are worthy of mention, namely, "Ukes Drau-

gija" (Farm Association), having twenty-two branches, and "Zagre" (Plough), also with numerous sections. In the government of Kaunas and Vilnius there were approximately one hundred such organizations. About one hundred and fifty co-operative consumers' leagues, too, operated in Lithuania during this period.

The Lithuanians have also been interested in prohibition. "Blaivybes Draugija" (Prohibition Society) was organized with its central office in Kaunas and had 172 branches and 29,000 members throughout the country.

In the short period dating from 1906 the Lithuanians have made full use of the scant liberties they have won, and have succeeded, despite growing restrictions, in organizing scientific, agricultural, art and commercial societies, through which they have labored, like other civilized nations, for the good of their country.

### *The Organization of War-refugees in Russia*

The organization of the war refugees, together with the indispensable institutions for their comfort and care, is proof of the ability of Lithuanians to organize.

Soon after the war broke out the German armies surged into Lithuania several times and, while they were beaten back the first few times, every attack nevertheless brought pillage and fire with increased suffering for the inhabitants. The intelligent men and women of the country recognized immediately that their fate depended on their own ability to organize. "The Lithuanian Society for the Relief of the War-stricken" was therefore founded in Vilnius and soon grew into a large organization with many branches back of the fighting line. These branches brought food, shelter, clothing and other necessities to the needy.

As the Germans kept on pressing towards the East it became increasingly evident that they would soon occupy Vilnius. The Society was therefore divided into two parts. One part remained in Vilnius and, in so far as German occupation made it possible, succored the needy by maintaining food kitchens at its branches and by shel-

tering the aged and orphaned of the country. The other part of the Society, which came to be known as the "Central Committee," was transferred to Petrograd, from which place it began the work of organizing and bringing aid to the Lithuanian exiles and war-refugees in Russia.

The Central Committee, together with the Lithuanian residents of Russia, immediately began to organize branches in the Russian cities. In the larger cities the beneficial and cultural societies of the residents in Russia supplemented the work of the Central Committee. Though confronted with many difficulties placed in its way by the Russian government, which studiously hampered the work of the Lithuanians, Letts, Poles and other nationalities, the Central Committee was nevertheless able to extend its activities into every corner of the empire through its 100 branches. More than one hundred thousand war-refugees needed and received aid—many were either unable to obtain work or could not support themselves from the pay for the work they did. There was hardly a larger Russian city or fair-sized Lithuanian settlement in the empire where the Committee did not take care of the refugees by installing homes for the poor, ill, and orphaned, and with food-kitchens, or through the distribution of food and clothing and by maintaining physicians, priests and lawyers.

After taking care of the refugees' bodily wants, the Committee began to minister to the cultural needs of the young. Several secondary schools were moved to Russia, even prior to German occupation. Their number was, however, insufficient and so new schools had to be established. In the city of Voronezh alone there were over 1,000 students in the secondary schools. The Lithuania Committee of Moscow also assisted more than 1,000 students, and the Society for the aid of Students of university and other colleges in Moscow supported over 200 students of universities and other higher institutions in Moscow. A similar number were taken care of in Petrograd, everywhere, in Smolensk, Minsk, Jaroslav, Ekaterinoslav, as well as in the cities of the Caucasus and Si-

beria, the Lithuanian students felt the guardian hand of this institution. Primary schools were established at every children's refuge.

Even the needs of the burned and pillaged country were anticipated by establishing trade schools in conjunction with factories specializing in tailoring, shoemaking, cabinet making, leather, stationery, etc. Some of the refugees were thus enabled to become self-supporting. The Petrograd branch of the Central Committee organized various cultural, educational, technical, architectural, and other commissions, which were to help prepare the Lithuanians to rule their own country themselves.

The Lithuanians have in this instance manifested a deep understanding of their own affairs, as well as a talent for organization, which has borne excellent fruit even under the most trying and exacting circumstances of war. Others would not have done this for them.

The fact that the world hardly knew even the word "Lithuania" has wrought considerable hardship upon the refugees, who have received but little aid from outsiders. The Russian government did contribute a little, as did some Russian Societies—but the contributions were far from sufficient to ward off starvation. And so the Lithuanians have gone about the task themselves. They have established factories, collected funds from among the refugees themselves, and tried to do the greatest good for the greatest number. The less hungry have given to those who hungered more. If one happened to have two suits, or two pairs of boots, he gave to one who had none. But many of the weak perished.

#### THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF LITHUANIA

There is very little difference of opinion among the Lithuanian people themselves concerning the form of government they should like to see in Lithuania.

Four parties were born with the cultural and national awakening of the country. Their political tenets, passing from radical left to the conservative right, are as follows:

1. The Social Democrats appeared before the restoration of Lithuanian print in 1904 and the rank and file of this party are composed chiefly of city workingmen. Its membership is naturally small because of the meagre industrial development of the country. It has never succeeded in electing any of its candidates to the Duma.

2. The Peoples' Socialist Party bears a close resemblance to the Social Revolutionists' Party of Russia led by Kerensky and, probably, to the Populist Party of the United States. One of its wings stands for the ownership of land, but demands the distribution of crown lands and larger estates among those who have little or no property. The majority of its candidates were elected to the Duma.\*

3. The Democratic Party is composed mostly of the intellectual elements. The war has caused them to split into two factions. The right wing is known as the "Progressive" (with the weekly "Voice of the Lithuanians"), while the left is called the "Concordist for Democratic Freedom of Lithuania." The latter published their organ entitled "Santara" or "Concord." This division was particularly marked among the Lithuanian residents of Russia. These two parties may be said to form the central political group and are responsible for most of the positive and constructive work which has been performed since the Lithuanian awakening.

4. The Christian Democrats are perhaps the strongest in point of organization and numbers. They control the masses chiefly through the clergy, who are close to them and have great influence. Their democratic tenets have Christian ideals. The Lithuanian religious hierarchy, which, until recently, was controlled by the Poles, thanks to this party, passed entirely into Lithuanian hands ex-

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\* NOTE.—In speaking about the political action of the Lithuanian parties in Russia these two parties must be considered each as one without any internal differences between them. But following the Russian Revolution and Bolshevik usurpation, each of these parties split into two factions. The old leaders of these parties became the right wing, while the younger members, inexperienced in work among the Lithuanian people and influential only among the uncultured youth, formed the left wing. There exists also a small group of Lithuanian Bolsheviks who work in conjunction with the Russian comrades.

cepting possibly in the diocese of Vilnius, where, up to the beginning of the war, an intense struggle was waged against the agents of the Polish National Democrats and other instruments of Polish Imperialism. The work of this party had an important bearing on the reawakening of Lithuania.

5. Following the Russian Revolution still another party was born. It was known as the Lithuania National Catholic Union and differed but little from the Christian Democrats. Its politics were also based on religion.

We shall see later that all of the parties of the Young Lithuanian movement acknowledge the principles of democracy. Every one of them demands an independent Lithuania with a republican form of government based on equal, secret, universal and direct ballot. Only the very extreme left among the Peoples' Socialists and Social Democrats of the Bolshevik type favor such self-determination, which might possibly force Lithuania back into Russia on a federative basis.

More or less a similar alignment of these parties we find also in America, possibly with this difference: that instead of the Populists and Social Democrats there is a Socialist Party, and instead of the two moderate parties such as in Russia, there is in America a middle party, the so-called National Democratic, with which the right wing of the Populist affiliates itself, and the third, the Christian Democratic Party, which sometimes goes under the name of the Catholic Party.

#### THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE LITHUANIANS *Tendencies Toward the Dissolution of the Union with Poland*

A historical opinion agrees that Lithuania was for centuries a powerful and independent state. The citations of a few instances will serve to show that the Lithuanians in their union with Poland not only preserved the fullest measure of distinctiveness as a nation and took care to retain always their own government and institutions, but

also fostered, and fostered insistently, the idea of complete separation from Poland.

In the Seventeenth Century Prince Janusz Radzivil negotiated with Sweden for the separation of Lithuania and Poland. Prince Sapieha was assassinated by Poles because he, too, labored toward the same end. Another attempt at separation was made by George Michael Kori-but Visniovecki, the Lithuanian Field Marshal, and Prince George Oginski, who, with the approval of the Lithuanian government, prepared the declaration of separation and submitted it to the Polish government. The tendency toward separation manifested itself even in the time of Kosciuszko, when the Lithuanians formed their own separate government. Finally, in the rebellion of 1863 against Russia, Kalinovski, the "dictator" of Lithuania, announced in his proclamation that Lithuania would fight for her independence side by side with Poland, but would "never agree to place the future of Lithuania into the hands of her sponsor, Warsaw."

### *The Masses Are Decidedly for Self-Government*

The spirit of freedom and independence matured at last and may be said to have established itself permanently during the later years of the Nineteenth and the beginning of the Twentieth Centuries, when the power of the Lithuanian movement had attained an effective value.

While the first Russian revolution was still in progress the Lithuanians compelled the governor-general of Vilnius to acquiesce in the convocation of a great All-Lithuanian convention. Over 2,000 delegates from every nook and cranny of the country assembled in the city of Vilnius, November 21-22, 1905. Some of the envoys were unable to speak Lithuanian, but insisted on participating because they were Lithuanians in blood and spirit. A resolution calling for a wide autonomy for Lithuania was adopted unanimously. This and other resolutions concerning the distribution of land, public education, freedom of organization and declaration of national distinctiveness were published in "Pravo," a Russian journal, and caused con-

siderable anxiety in Russian governmental and Polish political circles. The Poles and Russians were indeed dumfounded at the courageous spectacle presented by a nation which had been their bone of contention. The Lithuanians showed a startling unanimity in their demands despite the Russian prohibition of the press and all the difficulties they had encountered in smuggling in Lithuanian publications from abroad. Russian rule was still heavy, and so the Lithuanians prudently limited their demand to an autonomy.

Of all the peoples in the Russian Empire only the Letts and the Lithuanians seemed to have exerted their utmost efforts in obtaining freedom for themselves. The Letts even went so far as to proclaim an independent republic, but this brought upon them indescribable treatment from the Russian government and its marplots, the German barons!

In 1906, at the very climax of the Russian revolution, the Lithuanians of America convened, in Philadelphia, expressed sympathy for their kin and devised means of aiding them in their bloody struggle.

### *The Evolution of the Idea of Independence in Lithuania*

With the passing of the Russian revolution of 1905-1906, Lithuanians began openly to demand the freedom of their country.

The voters of the Lithuanian governments instructed their representatives in all four Dumas to fight for the freedom, the political autonomy, and unification of Lithuania. The voters of the government of Suvalkai invariably instructed their representatives to demand the separation of the government of Suvalkai from the Kingdom of Poland and its annexation to the government of Vilnius and Kaunas (Kowno).

The Lithuanian representatives of the Duma complied with the wishes of their constituents and always stood for the autonomy of the country and were persistent in their demands that the Lithuanian people be given the



opportunity to determine for themselves their political preference.

*The Struggle for the Independence of Lithuania up to  
the Time of the Russian Revolution of 1917  
in Lithuania and America*

The Great War had just begun when members of the various political factions organized a political club in Kovno and a political committee in Vilna. To the Lithuanians of America they addressed the following impassioned words: "Strenuous and telling times are here. We must emerge free, or die fighting for freedom. Lithuanians have vitality and strength enough to be equals of all other free nations. We must win the right to mould our own destiny and our own future. Now is the time to take our fate into our hands—now or never!" The same sentiment also asserted itself in the Lithuanian settlements of Great Russia.

The Lithuanians of America held a convention in Chicago, September 21-22, 1914, and adopted resolutions expressing and demanding in substance the following:

1. (a) The separation of the government of Suvalkai from Poland and its re-annexation to Lithuania and
- (b) The return of Lithuania Minor, long under German rule, to Lithuania.
2. The desire for the federation of Lithuania and Latvia.
3. The declaration that the Lithuanian question is an international one and that Lithuanians be given official representation at the peace conference.

In August, 1914, Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholævitch, the generalissimo of the Russian Army, issued a proclamation to the Poles and Slavs of Austro-Hungary which averred that the object of the war was to liberate the oppressed nationalities in the territories which they had inhabited for centuries and that the question of nationalities

would be a subject of greatest importance at the peace conference.

The Lithuanian Political Committee of Vilnius therefore announced in the Russian and Lithuanian press of October, 1914, that

1. Lithuania is a separate unit historically, culturally, and economically;
2. Lithuania will defend herself to the bitter end against every attempt of the Poles to spread Polish propaganda in Lithuania under the pretext of the historical union of the two countries;
3. Because certain Poles deliberately and fraudulently misrepresent the identity of Poles and Lithuanians, it becomes indispensable for the national life of Lithuania to combat such political methods of the Poles and to disclose to the world the actual relations as they exist between the Poles and the Lithuanians;
4. It is essential to struggle for the unification of Lithuania, i. e., for the union of the government of Suvalkai and of Lithuania Minor to Lithuania; and
5. It is vital to obtain the right of political self-determination for the Lithuanians.

But at the time of Nicholas Nicholævitch's proclamation the oppression of the smaller nationalities in Russia was at its height and every step regarding political freedom had to be taken with utmost secrecy and caution, and at the risk of great personal harm. By the end of July, 1915, when the German army had overrun the greater part of Lithuania, the political activities of the Lithuanians in Vilnius had to cease and were transferred to the neutral countries of Europe and to Russia.

#### *Conferences Abroad, 1915-1916*

The Lithuanian Stockholm Conference of October, 1916, with representatives from Lithuania and Switzerland, explained to the European press that Lithuania demanded freedom as well as the other nations.

As early as October, 1915, secret political meetings

were held in various parts of occupied Lithuania (in Mariampol, Kovno, etc.), where the chief subjects of the deliberations were to devise means of combating the German invasion, methods of attaining the independence of the country, and of maintaining the popularity of the idea of independence among the masses—in so far as all this might be possible under the circumstances.

### *The Berne Conference*

Lithuanians residing abroad held a conference at Berne, March 1-5, 1916, which demanded through the press the independence of Lithuania. The text of the resolutions follows:

1. Whereas, Lithuania was for ages an independent state;

2. Whereas, the inhabitants of Lithuania had never renounced their right to independence and had never paused in their struggle to attain that end;

3. Whereas, the Lithuanians possess their peculiar individuality, and an original and ancient civilization, as well as a distinct national psychology;

4. Whereas, Lithuania, devastated by the war, would be able to rehabilitate its ruined economic life only under conditions of complete freedom—which can only mean the freedom of an independent and sovereign Lithuanian state;

5. Whereas, the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state would add materially to the permanency of the future peace of Europe;

6. Whereas, the Entente has, since the beginning of the war, repeatedly pledged that this war is being waged in the interests of the oppressed nationalities and will not terminate until the principle of nationalities is triumphant, and

7. Whereas, even the German government, through its Chancellor, announced in the Reichstag that Lithuania had been “freed” by the German army.

The conference therefore resolved that demands be

made at the ensuing peace conference for the absolute freedom and restoration of Lithuania as an independent and sovereign state.

### *The Lausanne Conference*

Delegates from the various Lithuanian organizations in Lithuania, Russia, the United States of America, and England, convened at Lausanne, Switzerland, in June, 1916, and adopted resolutions which also demanded the complete freedom of Lithuania. All other subsequent conferences abroad—those of Berne, Lausanne, The Hague, etc.—voiced the independence of Lithuania as the most fundamental object of their demands.

The numerous American conferences of 1916 of Lithuanian leaders—those of Chicago, New York City, etc.—invariably insisted on the independence of Lithuania.

January 5, 1917, the Lithuanians of America sent President Wilson a declaration demanding the independence of Lithuania. Copies of this declaration were also submitted to the envoys of other great powers.

### *The Lithuanian Movement in Russia, 1916-1917*

In Russia, where many Lithuanian intellectuals had established themselves, especially in the days following the outbreak of the war, it was quite impossible for them to express their desires under the old regime. But even there a careful observer would have noted that the political tendency of those Lithuanians was quite clear.

Late in February, 1916, a convention of the Lithuanian War Relief organization in Russia was called for the purpose of evolving a policy in regard to the problems of relief, culture, and politics among the Lithuanian war-refugees. A joint committee was established for the performance of all this needed work, but unfortunately the Sturmer-Protopopoff government prevented the realization of this indispensable Lithuanian organization. As a consequence of such action on the government's part, a large Lithuanian conference was secretly held in Moscow, January 6-8, 1917, with the participation of the Lithu-

anian members of the Russian Duma, and it was decided to establish one political organ for all the Lithuanians of Russia, to impress the Lithuanian representatives of the Duma with the importance of demanding openly from the parliamentary tribune a broad autonomy for Lithuania and freedom for the Lithuanian people, and to organize the Lithuanians for the struggle of liberty. On the strength of these decisions the "Lesser" Lithuanian Convention was secretly convened at Petrograd, February 11, 1917, where all the Lithuanian political parties jointly laid the foundation for a Lithuanian political organ—the so-called National Council. The resolutions in this regard, adopted unanimously, read as follows:

"The five parties (Social-Democrats, Social Populists, the Concordists, Christian Democrats, and Catholic Union) participating in the convention believe that

(1) the sole object of the Lithuanian nation at this moment is the attainment of freedom to decide its own future, and that

(2) the attainment of independence for the Lithuanian nationality is possible only through incessant and organized work whereby it would be possible successfully to proclaim to the nations of the world the actual desires of the Lithuanian people, and these parties therefore deem it imperative to found an authoritative organization—the Lithuanian National Council—whose members shall be chosen from all of the Lithuanian political parties and the Lithuanian representatives of the Russian Duma."

### *Lithuanian Autonomy and the Russian Constitutional Democrats*

The question of Lithuanian autonomy was discussed concurrently at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party with Mr. Miliukov, leader of the party, in the chair. Mr. Leonas, Lithuanian representative of the Second Duma from Suvalkai and member of the Central Committee of the Kadets, proffered a plan of autonomy for Lithuania and addressed the chairman of the Kadet party as follows:

1. The Lithuanians will never willingly renounce their aspirations for freedom, and any government that proposes to govern them against their will or contrary to their national requirements, will be compelled to resort to force and oppression;

2. To continue to deny Lithuanians their freedom may cause very undesirable consequences for both the Lithuanians and the Russians.

*The First Demand in Russia for an Independent  
Lithuania*

When the Russian Revolution began to assume alarming proportions, representatives of all the Lithuanian political parties and the Lithuanian representation in the Russian Duma finally adopted (February 21, 1917) the following resolution:

"1. Realizing that the idea of an independent Lithuania always was and continues to be the guiding principle of the whole life and of all the deeds of every class in the Lithuanian nation;

"2. Perceiving that Greater Lithuania, now occupied by the German and Austro-Hungarian troops, is united in raising the watchword of an independent Lithuania, and

"3. Recognizing that the idea of an independent Lithuania could not be publicly proclaimed in Russia because of the political conditions which enchain the free expression of our community,

"4. We deem it necessary for our representatives in the Russian Duma to proclaim there that the Lithuanian nation, irrespective of class distinctions, demands the right to decide for itself its political fate and destinies."

*The Struggle for Lithuanian Independence Since  
the Russian Revolution of 1917*

After the Russian Revolution was well under way and freedom of action was possible, the Lithuanian National Council outlined its duties to the President of the Russian Provisional Government in the following manner:

The representatives of all the Lithuanian parties in Russia—Catholic-National Union, Christian Democrats, National Progressives, Concordists, Social Democrats, Populists-Socialists, together with every Lithuanian Representative in the Russian Duma—assembled at Petrograd, March 13, where they founded the Lithuanian National Council and formulated the declaration which they submitted to the temporary Russian government and to the Council of Soldiers and Workers delegates. In the declaration it was stated that

1. Lithuania is a separate ethnographical, cultural, economic, and political unit,

2. As regards numbers and economic considerations, the Lithuanians constitute the basic element of Lithuania's inhabitants,

3. In the new order of things all the inhabitants of Lithuania who may be of a different origin—the newcomers—must possess equal rights with the natives themselves, and

4. The internal order of Lithuania, as well as her relations with neighboring nations, can be formulated only by the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania, to be duly elected in a democratic way under the guarantees of freedom in the country.

In addition to communicating this declaration, they also announced that the Lithuanians residing in Russia had constituted a temporary committee to govern Lithuania, and claimed that the care and supervision of all institutions removed from Lithuania, as well as the administration of Vilnius and the environs of Kaunas not occupied by the German armies, and the supervision of the restoration of Lithuania should be entrusted to this committee.

*The Petrograd Convention of May 27, 1917.*

A Lithuanian convention was called at Petrograd, May 27, 1917, by the Lithuanian National Council. Its 320 delegates were elected by secret, direct and equal ballot. The decisions of this convention were two-fold. The de-

cisions of the three parties of the right wing (Catholic Union, Christian Democrats, and National Progressives) follow:

With the purpose of attaining an independent democratic republic of Lithuania and mindful of the facts that

1. One ethnographic part of Lithuania was ruled by Russia, the other by Germany;

2. Russian Lithuania has been almost wholly occupied by the German army in this war;

3. The Lithuanian question has therefore become an international one and should be discussed at the congress of peace; and

4. Up to the close of the Eighteenth Century Lithuania enjoyed its own political life; the Diet of the Lithuanians in Russia; therefore resolved that:

1. The whole of ethnographic Lithuania must become an independent state;

2. Lithuanian representatives must participate in the congress of peace; and

3. The form of government and internal order in Lithuania must be laid down by the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania to be chosen by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot.

Other resolutions passed by the other three factions of the Diet of the Lithuanians residing in Russia (Social-Democrats, Populists, and Concordists) were of practically the same content.

While the Russians were busily making preparations for their Constituent Assembly, the Lithuanians were also invited to participate in the election of an extraordinary counsel to the Russian Constituent Assembly, which was to prepare a draft of the laws. Towards the close of May the Lithuanian National Council prepared a paper expressive of Lithuanian opinion on the Lithuanian question for the deliberation of the Constituent Assembly and tendered it to F. F. Kokoshkin, Counsel Extraordinary. This document proceeds as follows:



"Bearing in mind the question of the future of Lithuania following occupation by the armies of the Central European Powers and realizing that this problem is therefore intimately associated with the conditions of the future peace of Europe and has become for this reason an international one, the Lithuanian National Council finds that the Russian Constituent Assembly, the preparations for which are being laid, shall have only to acknowledge to the united Lithuanian Nation the right to decide its manner of national life in the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania, *provided that this right be acknowledged by the temporary Russian Government before the Russian Constituent Assembly convenes.*"

Later, towards the end of June, the Lithuanian representation in this extraordinary counsel, succeeded for the first time in compelling the Russians to strike out the much abused official expression, "Kingdom of Poland" (which unjustly included the government of Suvalkai), and to put in its place "A territory which shall enter into the construction of the future Polish State"—a more appropriate expression in view of the political *status quo*.

*Widespread Demands in the Lithuanian Settlements  
Throughout Russia for the Independence of Lithuania*

The movement for the independence of the country spread rapidly in the Lithuanian settlements and among the throngs of undaunted war-refugees in Russia. Resolutions of Lithuanian meetings and conventions clothing the Lithuanian National Council at Petrograd with authority to demand the independence of their country poured forth from town and province. Dissatisfaction, too, was expressed in these resolutions with the stubborn silence of the Russians on the question of the freedom of Lithuania and several protests were rendered against the Russian-made Liquidation Commission for Poland, to whose tutelage the government of Suvalkai was most unjustly committed. List of cities in which a whole series of meetings and conventions has taken place between

April 1 and May 27, 1917, demanding the freedom of Lithuania: Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Charkov, Tiflis, Rostov on the Don, Helsingfors, Dvinsk, Tver, Tashkent, Polotzk, Vitebsk, Saratov, Samara, Smolensk, Minsk, Orel, Jaroslavl, Tula, Voronezh, Dorpat, Irkutsk, Simbirsk, Poltava, Tambov, Riazan, Chita, Novo-Nikolajevsk, Staraja Rusa, Bobruisk, Kars, Simferopol, Ekaterinoslav, Mineral Waters (Kaukasus), Omsk, Zaporozhye, Kamenskoye, Kolpino, Rzhev, Reval. All their resolutions have been printed in "Santara" at Petrograd, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 19 (from 8 IV, 1917, till 27 V, 1917).

### *Demands of the Soldiers' Union*

About this time the Lithuanian soldiers organized their union and called a convention May 25-26. One hundred delegates, representing at this time 25,000 Lithuanian soldiers who had been organized thus far, participated therein. Citing the fact that the whole of Lithuania—Major Lithuania as well as Lithuania Minor—had become one of the most desolated nations of the great war, this first popular and democratically organized convention of Lithuanian soldiers of the Russian army resolved that

1. Lithuania must become free; that
2. Inasmuch as the future cannot be decided by one state alone, the Lithuanian problem is an international one and as such can be solved only by the Peace Congress, in which representatives of the Lithuanian nation must also participate; that
3. They expect the Peace Congress finally to unite Major and Minor Lithuania, and that
4. Before the Constituent Assembly convenes the Provisional Government of Russia must state its solution of the problem of Lithuanian freedom.

*Recognition of the Sovereign Rights of Lithuania by the  
Congress of the Twenty-two Russian  
Nationalities*

That Lithuania had attained maturity with respect to the question of her freedom not only among her own people but also throughout the whole of democratic Russia is attested by the following resolution adopted by the congress of the Nationalities of Russia, held in Kiev, October 8-16, 1917:

The Convention of the Nationalities of Russia, called by the Ukrainian Central Rada, met at Kiev, October 8-16, 1917. The representation of 22 nationalities at this convention was as follows: 2 Georgians, 7 White Russians, 4 Esthonians, 9 Cossacks, 10 Letts, 6 Poles, 6 Roumanians, 10 Tatars, 3 Great Russians, 5 Turks, 9 Ukrainians, 10 Jews, 9 Lithuanians, etc.

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously in regard to the Lithuanian question:

Recognizing the right of every nationality to its own sovereignty as well as the fact that no government has any right whatever to shape the destinies or the form of government for any people or nation without their consent, and having heard the following report of the Lithuanian delegates, to-wit, that

1. The Convention of the Lithuanians of Russia held at Petrograd in the month of June, 1917, declared their right to establish a Sovereign Lithuanian State within ethnographic boundaries, whose form of government shall be decided by the Lithuanian Constituent Assembly, democratically chosen;

2. The Provisional Government has decreed, in spite of the established right to self-determination for each nationality, that the Government of Suvalkai be annexed to the proposed independent Polish State and this government has, moreover, been handed over to the Polish Liquidation Committee, ignoring the fact that the representatives to the Imperial Russian Duma from this government have invariably been of Lithuanian nationality, and that its inhabitants have incessantly demanded that the government of Suvalkai be joined to an autonomous Lithuania, excepting such parts of it as the inhabitants should wish to be united to Poland, and

3. Because the Germans, by occupying the greater part of Lithuania, are deciding her destiny, renders this most fit and opportune for Russia, too, to proclaim her attitude respecting the rights of the Lithuanian nation.

The Convention therefore resolved to demand that

The Provisional Government of Russia issue a proclamation recognizing the rights of Lithuania to form a sovereign state of Lithuania out of the Russian Lithuanian territories, and of the Lithuanian districts of the government of Suvalkai, in conformity with the principle of self-determination.

*Later Resolutions Adopted by the Lithuanians  
of Russia*

Because of its bearing upon the immediate political desires and tendencies of the Lithuanians it would perhaps be well to reproduce the whole of the resolutions adopted by the Veronezh Conference of November 16-19, 1917, in which the leaders of the various Lithuanian parties and three representatives of the Lithuanian Military Union of Russia took part for the purpose of creating a supreme, authoritative organ to direct the politics of Lithuanians in Russia. They read:

After deliberating on (a) the first part of the resolutions adopted by the Lithuanian conference at Vilnius of September 18-22, 1917, wherein the Lithuanians of Lithuania Proper consistently defended the rights of Lithuanians in their native land, (b) the resolutions of the Lithuanian National Council in Russia and of the Russian Lithuanians, (c) the labors and the resolutions of the Lithuanians of America together with the results of their conventions in regard to the freedom of Lithuania, (d) the resolutions of the Russian Congress of Nationalities in Kiev regarding Lithuanian affairs, and (e) the resolutions of the Second Lithuanian Stockholm Conference—the conference of the Lithuanian military delegates and of the leaders of the parties *resolved* that the Supreme Lithuanian Taryba or Council be organized according to the following principles:

Because the consistent aim of the Lithuanian people is and has been an Independent Democratic Lithuanian Republic, the purpose of the Supreme Lithuanian Council is the renewal of the independent Lithuanian State. In bas-

ing its activities upon (1) the historical rights of Lithuania, (2) the fact that Lithuania is a distinct economic entity, (3) the fact that Lithuanians have unceasingly struggled for their independence, (4) the promise that the whole world is developing along the lines of democracy, and lastly (5) the fact that America, Russia, France, England, and the Holy See have proclaimed the principle of self-determination for the oppressed nationalities, the Supreme Lithuanian Council therefore pledges itself to demand from the nations of the world the right for Lithuanians to form a Sovereign Lithuanian State. The Supreme Lithuanian Council pledges itself to foster the idea of an independent Lithuania and to defend it from the intrusions of neighboring states and nationalities. The Supreme Lithuanian Council pledges itself to make it clear to the world that Lithuanians refuse to entertain any claims to the re-establishment of the Historical Lithuanian State and aim only to form an independent Lithuanian State within ethnographic boundaries, embracing only those territories which have been inhabited since ancient times by people of Lithuanian nationality—keeping in mind, however, rectification which might prove absolutely indispensable to the free economic life of the country. The Supreme Lithuanian Council, therefore, pledges itself to demand that all the scattered parts of Lithuanian territory—Major Lithuania, comprising the governments of Vilnius, Kaunas, Suvalkai, and parts of Grodno and Courland, and Lithuania Minor under the yoke of Germany—be combined into a single Lithuanian state and that Lithuania be provided with a port on the Baltic Sea which can be freely used for the economic purposes of the country. The Supreme Lithuanian Council further pledges itself to make known to the world that Lithuanians consider it their moral and indisputable right to establish a suitable form of government in the Lithuanian State, as well as to form adequate relations with the other states and nations of the world through the Constituent Lithuanian Assembly at Vilnius, whose representatives are to be chosen by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot, re-

ardless of sex, race, or religion, by means of the proportional system and with the guarantee of individual freedom. The Supreme Lithuanian Council furthermore pledges itself to make known to the world that, in accordance with the traditions of their forefathers and the principles of justice and democracy, the Lithuanian people shall guarantee adequate conditions for the cultural development of racial minorities in the future Lithuanian State. Lastly, the Supreme Lithuanian Council pledges itself to make known to the world that the right of establishing the Lithuanian State belongs solely to the future Peace Conference, and that representatives of the Lithuanian nationality should be accorded the right of participating therein.

*Political Resolutions of the Lithuanians in America*

The Convention of Lithuanians residing in America took place in New York City, March 13-14, 1918. Over 1,200 delegates took part in it and adopted the following resolutions:

**WHEREAS,**

1. Lithuania is an ethnographic, cultural, economic, and political entity;
2. The historical past of Lithuania, as well as the trend of events today, tender the Lithuanian nationality the indisputable right to restore the sovereign Lithuanian State;
3. The Lithuanian nationality is guided solely by self-determination in endeavoring to shape its political future and destiny.
4. The free development of the cultural and economic potentialities of any nationality is possible only when its land enjoys complete economic independence.
5. To decide fully its own political destiny is the birth-right of every nationality.
6. The throes of this war have made the Lithuanian question one of international significance and hence a subject for the coming international peace-conference.
7. An international congress alone—not those warring powers who are bent on enslaving Lithuania—is competent to guarantee to the people of Lithuania the freedom of its political life.
8. Woodrow Wilson, our Honorable President, is of the opinion, as expressed in his address to the United States Senate on January 22, 1918, that peace is neither desirable nor possible

when it fails to recognize or accept the principle that the rights of states come from the will of the people, and that there is no law in existence that permits of trafficking in nationalities as if they were mere chattels, and

After deliberating on the political condition of Lithuania, the Convention of Lithuanians in America therefore resolved that

1. The formation of an independent, democratic state within Lithuanian ethnographic boundaries, with only such deviations therefrom as are entirely indispensable for the economic life of the country, is absolutely vital to the welfare of Lithuania;

2. That the independence of Lithuania should be guaranteed by the Peace Conference, wherein Lithuanian representatives should be permitted to participate, and

3. That the resolutions of this convention be forwarded to Woodrow Wilson, our Honorable President, as representative of the United States Government, the protector and defender of the small and oppressed nationalities, and to all the other governments of the Allied and neutral nations.

As regards the form of government, the Convention of Lithuanians in America adopted the following:

**WHEREAS,**

1. The freedom and the rights of the people can be best safeguarded in a democratic form of government;

2. The Lithuanian nationality consists chiefly of laboring people, and

3. The spirit of democracy has been ever present among Lithuanians, and

Leaving to the citizens of Lithuania themselves the right to establish a form of government and standing by the principles of democracy,

**WE THEREFORE RESOLVE THAT**

1. The principles of genuine democracy and the republican form of government be introduced and established in the Lithuanian State;

2. Every citizen of Lithuania, irrespective of race, faith, sex or class, shall enjoy equal political rights;

3. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, organization, religion and freedom of conscience, of person and home be recognized, and

4. Nationalization of natural resources and public service institutions be allowed only in so far as they do not trespass on the rights and freedom of the individual.

As regards the relations to Poles, the Convention adopted the following:

Cognizant of Polish intrigue and propaganda for the purpose of compelling a union of Lithuania and Poland into one body politic, or to force access through Lithuania to the Baltic Sea, the Convention, and all Lithuanians, protest most vehemently, and declare that the pretensions of Poland are utterly without foundation, contrary to the spirit of the times, and, if realized, would absolutely destroy the integrity and independence of Lithuania.

The Lithuanians shall make suitable guarantees for the freest cultural development of all peoples of whatsoever creed or race, inhabitants of Lithuania.

### CONCLUSION

The foregoing demonstrates clearly, we hope, that the soul of the Lithuanian nationality has always craved independence, but has not for a long time had the opportunity to speak out.

This war presented such an opportunity and immediately demands for independence proved to be voiced in unison by the entire Lithuanian race.

The independence of Lithuania is now an ideal so deeply implanted in the minds of the Lithuanian people that any solution which would seek to unite Lithuania to any other nation against her will would meet not only with the most vigorous opposition, but would most certainly cause that country to revolt with the object of attaining complete freedom. Peaceful cultural and economic development would thus be marred by conditions of bloody strife.

The resolution cited above and adopted by Lithuanians everywhere—in Lithuania, Russia, and the United States—point out that every Lithuanian political party agrees to the following:

1. That the form of government must be that of a democratic republic;
2. That the component parts of Lithuania, now unnaturally separated from one another, must be joined into a single political, economic, and cultural unit with an outlet to the sea—which means that Lithuania Minor, now under the German yoke, should be joined to Lithuania Major so that a territory situated on both sides of the river



Niemen to its mouth and peopled since the remotest times by none other than Lithuanians would again be righteously united, and

8. That the sovereign rights of Lithuania be restored and guaranteed at the coming peace conference.

#### RELATIONS OF LITHUANIANS TO OTHER NATIONALITIES

Freedom for Lithuania and its re-establishment to an autonomous state within the ethnographic territory comprising Major and Minor Lithuania, with the necessary economic corrections is the demand of the Lithuanian people. They also assert the right to call a Constituent Assembly to regulate the internal order of the nation and its relations to neighboring states. In advancing these demands, however, the Lithuanians wish it to be known that independence is not their sole and final object. Every political and economic suggestion of other nations which will make possible the development of Lithuanian culture and contribute to the social evolution of mankind and the brotherhood of men in general must be carefully considered. Without independence, however, the Lithuanians will be in no position to determine their relations with foreign states. A Constituent Assembly operating from Vilnius is the only competent and responsible body for effecting the necessary reforms.

At this point it is pertinent to consider the relations of Lithuania with neighboring states in the past:

##### *Relations to Russia*

Russia has governed Lithuania, i. e., the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius and Grodno, since the time of the last partitionment of Lithuania and Poland (1795) and the government of Suvalkai since the Vienna Congress (1815). The sole basis of the Russian government of Lithuania rested on conquest and during the century when that rule has been extended over the subject state it has met with the consistent objection of the Lithuanian people. Nevertheless, the Lithuanians have been loyal to Russia and have believed that freedom of the Russians meant also the freedom of the Lithuanians; that their future was bound with that of those of the Russian people

who clamored against the old despotism. When the war broke out the Lithuanians promptly tendered their sympathies to the Allies and came out in opposition to German militarism and despotism. Lithuanian military reservists took service in the Russian Army Corps and fought bravely in eastern Prussia, driving back the Germans as far as Koenigsberg and compelling Germany to withdraw large military forces from the western front at a time when a German occupation of Paris was most threatening. When the reinforced German army finally broke through the lines in Lithuania the land was subjected to pillage and the people were put to the sword or driven inland where they suffered untold miseries. It is natural, therefore, that they should demand justice for their country and their sufferings.

With the fall of the old despotism, or czaristic regime, in Russia the oppressed nations of that empire looked forward with joy and thanksgiving to the time when freedom should be theirs. But in this expectation they were soon to be cruelly disabused. At no time since the dethronement of the Czar has adequate hope been held out to the Lithuanian people of independence. On the contrary, some of the various governments which have controlled Russia since the deposition of Czar Nicholas have cultivated more or less cordial relations with Germany to a point where German domination of the entire East was in prospect. The Russian provisional government under both Prime Minister Lvov and Kerensky failed to make sufficiently clear the problems of small nationalities. The excuse was constantly offered that only a Constituent Assembly was competent to cope with such problems and it was repeatedly intimated that to the Russian government alone should be given the right to supervise these matters. The provisional government, failing to grasp the necessities of the hour, fell like the old czaristic regime, dragging down with it the entire Russian nation. No justice whatever was meted out to Lithuania by the provisional government—nay, even an alliance was effected with the Polish imperialists with a view to bartering Lith-

uania. The purely Lithuanian province of Suvalkai, artificially united with the Kingdom of Poland, was transferred with all its institutions to the control of the Polish Liquidation Committee, notwithstanding the fact that all the Lithuanian representatives in the Duma from Suvalkai (there never were Polish representatives from Suvalkai) repeatedly demanded the separation of Suvalkai from Poland and union with the rest of Lithuania. Meanwhile German intrigue did not fail to utilize the mistake of the Russian government and promptly annexed Suvalkai to the province of Vilnius, thus uniting it with Lithuania as it had been in the past.

The Russian Social-Revolutionist Party was practically antagonistic to the principle of self-determination for subjected nationalities as was also Kerensky himself. At the Joint Conference at Moscow on August 15, 1917, of all the representatives of the Duma and of all the political parties and social classes the question of small nationalities was, with a single exception, utterly ignored, although it loomed large at the time. Prince Krapotkin was bold enough to express the opinion that Russia should organize upon a federative principle.

With a view to establishing a social republic the Bolshéviki purchased peace with Germany and the price they paid was the territories of Lithuania and other new border states. Such an attitude on the part of the governing authorities of Russia toward Lithuania gives small hope of any satisfactory conclusion and this undoubtedly will have an important effect upon the relations of the two countries in the future. Even should Russia succeed in re-establishing order, the relations of Lithuania with that country would depend largely upon Russia's recognition of Lithuanian status as a free nation.

### *Relations with Poland*

The Lithuanians categorically and unanimously refuse to unite with Poland. They declare that the personal union of these two countries terminated with their fall and partitionment. Even assuming that it exists, either party

to the contract is at perfect liberty to terminate it just as the Norway-Sweden contract was terminated.

The Poles are a Slavic race possessing customs totally and inherently different from those of the Lithuanians. If they prefer to live up to their old traditions; if they aim to re-establish Poland along reactionary lines; if they prefer to support the election of the King and the predominance of aristocracy, as might be inferred from the declaration of the Polish regency, these are no affairs of Lithuania, which will never accept monarchical-aristocratic principles.

The temporary government of Russia by act of March, 1915, in an attempt to revive Poland, used the expression, "on the formation of an independent Polish state from those lands where the Poles constitute the majority," and to this added the indefinite statement "Russians believe that nations for ages bound to the Poles should be guaranteed their life of citizenship and nationality." By this means the temporary government of Russia hoped to protect the rights of citizens of other races living in Poland, such as the Jews and the Russians. But the Polish imperialists have perverted the expression "nations for ages bound to the Poles" to mean the Lithuanian nation, the White Russians and the Ukrainians occupying the historic boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To this the Lithuanians take exception. Whatever may have been asserted to the contrary, no authorized Lithuanian representatives have ever accepted this interpretation. Lithuania will not permit the blunder of the Lublin Union to be perpetuated.

The attempt on April 17, 1917, in Petrograd to annex Lithuania with White Russia and to dispose European opinion favorably to Polish imperialism over the two countries was promptly discountenanced. The Lithuanian National Council at Petrograd declared that the idea of an independent Lithuania had been consistently fostered and that Lithuania was opposed to her delimiting within the confines of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with a view to joining her destiny to that of White Russia and Poland.

Again on May 27-28, 1917, 44 Poles of Lithuania, in

an unauthorized document prepared in Vilnius and presented to the Chancellor of Germany, declared: (a) That they considered Lithuania a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania occupied by the Germans; (b) that they will always endeavor to unite with the state of Poland; (c) that they deem it to the best interests of Lithuania to unite with Poland in a common state with autonomy for the separate parts of the country. The Lithuanians, in a memorandum prepared at Vilnius under date of July 10, and delivered to the Chancellor of Germany, characterized this as Polish imperialism and said: "We must emphasize most vigorously that the Lithuanians are not in sympathy with the aggressive policy of Poland; they do not claim the lands of the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania and they have no desire for the whole of the territory now occupied by the Germans. The Lithuanians seek no aggrandizement either in Poland or in White Russia. But they do by all means demand liberty, free of interference, to govern their country throughout its national demarcations. To the Lithuanian people alone do we acknowledge the right to decide the fate of the land."

The above mentioned Polish memorandum was protested against by the large land-owners in Lithuania. "Tevynes Sargas" (February 26, 1918), published in Vilnius, asserts that the nobles of Lithuania did not approve the memorandum and "are willing to help re-establish Lithuania, but not Poland in Lithuania."

In common with entire Lithuanian nation, they desire to offer their abilities and strength for the benefit of Lithuania (v. "Lietuvos Aidas," published in Vilnius. Memorandum of the Poles to the Chancellor of Germany, No. 4, August 18, 1917. Memorandum of the Lithuanians to the Chancellor of Germany, Nos. 5, 6, 9 and 10, 20, 22 and 29, IX, 1917, and 2, X, 1917).

The Polish attitude toward the Lithuanians may again be demonstrated by the following: At a meeting of the Liquidation Committee established by the Russian revolutionary government for the purpose of liquidating the separation claims of Poland and Russia, the Roman

Catholic Bishop, Cieplak, a Pole, announced that Poles make no distinction between Catholicism and Polish nationality; that is, whoever in Russia is a Catholic is a Pole. Hence, it would follow, the Lithuanians, being Roman Catholics, would be considered Poles. (See "Russkija Viedomosti," "Utro Rossii," "Russkoje Slovo," April, 1917). The best evidence that this idea is not merely a pose, but a practical working program of the Poles, is indicated by the fact that when opportunity arose to form separate national regiments in Russia the Poles obtained from the Russian general staff, unfamiliar with the situation, permission to register all the Roman Catholic soldiers in the Russian army and to muster them in as Poles. When the Lithuanian regiments were formed it became necessary to exert a great deal of effort in order to reclaim the Lithuanian soldiers from the Polish units, and in the effort scores of Lithuanian soldiers lost their lives.

The Poles make special pretensions to the government of Suvalkai, a territory which has always been inhabited by Lithuanians and which has justly belonged to Lithuania from time immemorial. The basis of these pretensions is the annexation of Suvalkai to Congressional Poland by Napoleon I in 1807. This territory is at present the center of national activities and it is there that the Lithuanian national consciousness, policies and economic questions are most thoroughly agitated.

We have thus outlined some of the means devised by Poland to effect the annexation of Lithuania to Polish territory. Lasting rapprochement of these two nations will be impossible until Poland recognizes the principles enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson with respect to self-determination of nations.

### *Relations with Germany*

With respect to Germany it may be said that she has for ages, by fair means or foul, endeavored to prevent the Lithuanians the use of the Baltic Sea, and she at present occupies all that territory of Lithuania which borders on the Baltic, together with the outlets of the rivers Niemen

and Pregel, the former being most important artery of commerce in Lithuania; thus Germany practically controls Lithuania's foreign trade. Possession of the Niemen where it debouches into the Baltic and the Port of Klaipeda (Memel), and to a lesser degree the mouth of the Pregel and the Port of Karaliaucius (Koenigsberg) are vitally important to Lithuania and she cannot renounce them. She therefore demands that they be incorporated into her territory as a *conditio sine qua non* of a united and prosperous Lithuania.

### *Relations with Letts.*

Language, common descent, history, hardships encountered in the past, customs and character—inclination toward democracy—finally the name itself—all these things emphasize a close relationship of these two nationalities, Lithuanians and Letts. A union between both kindred nations is not only possible, but highly desirable.

### ECONOMICAL AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION OF SMALL NATIONS OF EUROPE

Freedom of intercourse gives a nation the best guarantee against its economic enslavement. This freedom largely depends upon the geographic location of the country. The favorable geographic location alone would explain the positive economic and cultural evolution of such small states as Denmark, Holland, and Belgium. In spite of the fact that they are in the immediate neighborhood of powerful and aggressive nations as Germany, still the latter could not bring about their economic enslavement.

Free commercial intercourse with the entire world helped those small nations and this assured their economic independence of neighboring nations and their cultural development.

That small nations may prosper as well as great ones may be seen from the comparative table, as follows: